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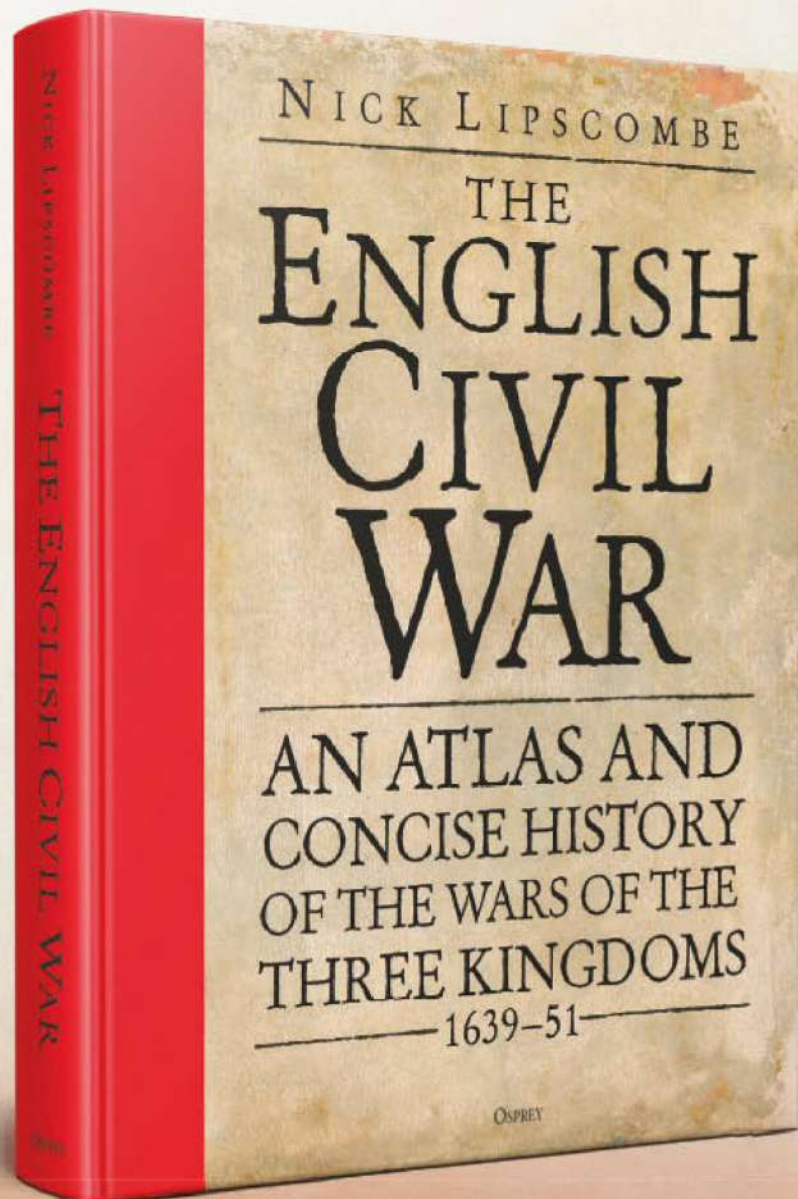
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The Battle of Britain was a turning point in the struggle against the Nazis

Welcome

It's been a heavy year for WWII anniversaries, with 75 years having passed since victory in Europe and the Pacific and now 80 years since the Battle of Britain. Each comes with its own poignancy, but the story of 'The few' does evoke a unique emotional sense for me. The Battle of Britain is such a pivotal moment in the history of WWII, acting as both the end of the first phase of war, the middle of the UK's conflict with Germany and the beginning of the fightback that would come. Everything must have felt that it was on a knife-edge; the future so uncertain.

This issue we hope to expand on that story with a ground-level focus, looking at the many who helped The Few achieve their victories, recounting the experiences of an ace fighter pilot and dissecting one of the planes that was so important to the effort - the Hawker Hurricane - so often overlooked in favour of the Spitfire.

A slightly longer anniversary marked this issue is that of the Mayflower that brought the Pilgrims to America 400 years ago. We ponder the true origins of North American settlements and why the Pilgrim story has come to embody the founding myth of the USA. We also had the pleasure to speak with Emma Southon about murder as a political tool in Ancient Rome and to Hallie Rubenhold about the women killed by Jack the Ripper. As ever, it's a packed issue and I hope you enjoy it.

Jonathan Gordon
Editor



ALL ABOUT HISTORY

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Battle_{of} Britain

Marking 80 years since this pivotal WWII fight

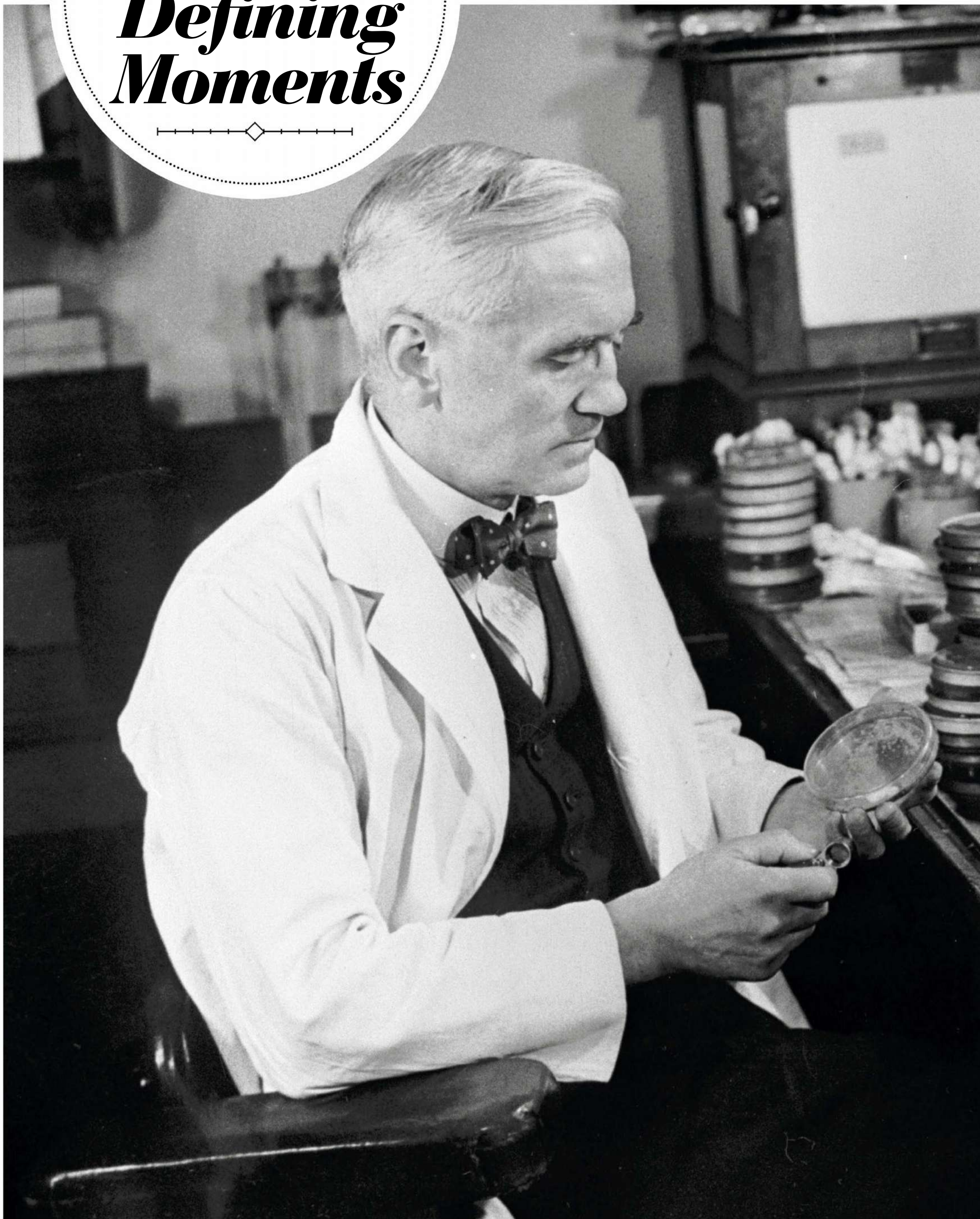
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Defining Moments





28 September 1928

DISCOVERY OF PENICILLIN

Scottish physician and scientist Alexander Fleming returned from his holiday to find his petri dishes of staphylococcus bacteria contaminated with mould. He realised the mould – penicillin – had killed the bacteria, a discovery that led to the development of the world's first antibiotic. Penicillin was first used to treat patients with bacterial infections in 1942 and, two years later, Fleming was knighted for his discovery.

© Getty Images

1 October 1962

JAMES MEREDITH ATTENDS UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI

On this day, James Meredith became the first African-American to enrol at the University of Mississippi, following a two-day riot by segregationists opposing his admission. His application had been rejected twice before the US Supreme Court forced the university to accept racial integration. Here, Meredith is escorted to class by US Marshal James McShane (left) and John Doar of the Justice Department.



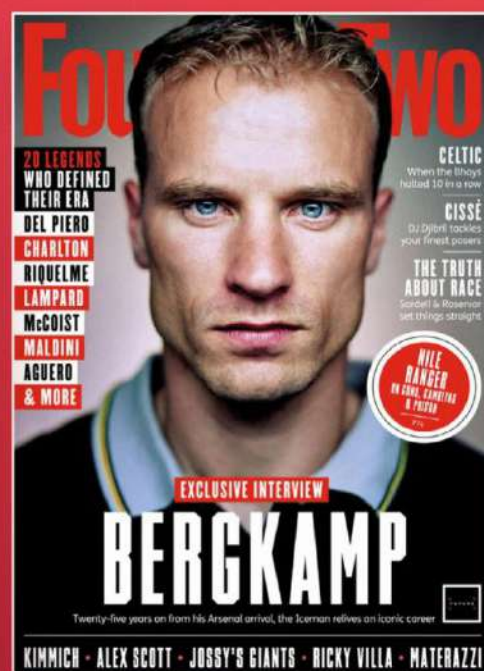
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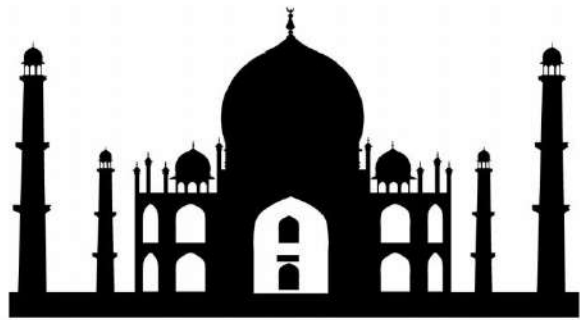
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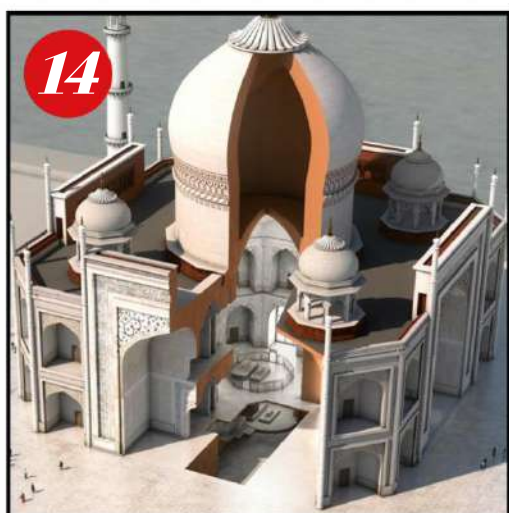
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ALL ABOUT

THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

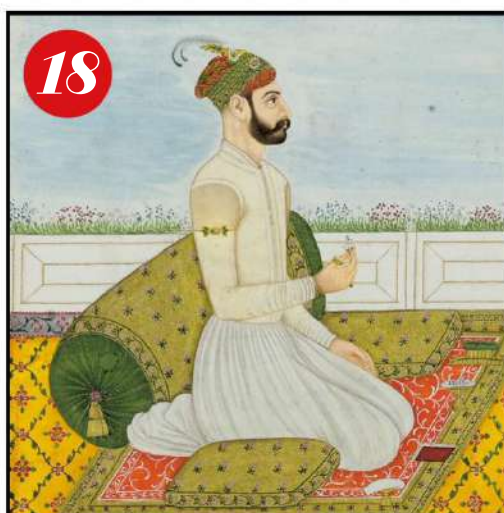
We explore 200 years of one of the most powerful and far-reaching empires of Asia that remains so integral to Indian identity today



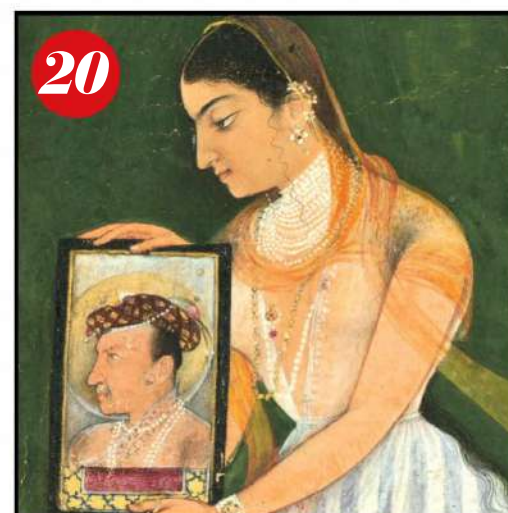
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Nur Jahan*

Written by Jessica Leggett, Jonathan Gordon

== *The Mughal Empire* ==



Did you know?
 Babur was a descendant of Genghis Khan through his mother and Timur through his father

A new Empire 1526
 The ruler of Kabulistan, Babur, leads his Mughal forces against the Sultan of Deli, Ibrahim Lodi, and defeats him at the Battle of Panipat, giving birth to the Mughal Empire. It's notable as an early example of warfare involving gunpowder firearms and artillery.

HUMAYUN RETURNS 1555
 The death of Shēr Shah's successor Salim Shah leads to civil strife and Humayun seizes the opening to return, winning the Battle of Sirhind and reclaiming Delhi.

TOMB DESIGN 1573
 The tomb of Humayun is built and proves to be hugely influential as the first garden tomb of its type in India. It would inspire the later Taj Mahal design.



MURDEROUS SUCCESSION 1658
 With Shah Jahan falling ill, his third son Aurangzeb eliminates his brothers to seize the throne and throws his father into the Red Fort in Agra, where he lives out the rest of his days.



1526
AN IMPERIAL HIATUS 1540
 Having inherited the empire from his father ten years earlier, Humayun is driven out of the capital Agra by Shēr Shah of Sūr, beginning the short-lived Sur Empire.



1613
EAST INDIA COMPANY 1613
 The East India Company defeats the Portuguese at the Battle of Swally and establishes warehouses in Surat as a result.



£10 RENT 1668
 King Charles II receives the Portuguese territory of Bombay as part of the dowry for marrying Catherine of Braganza. He offers the lease to the East India Company for £10 of gold a year.

Child emperor 1556
 With his father having died from a fall down the stairs of his library, Akbar becomes the third Mughal emperor, aged 13. He's tested quickly by Hindu king Hemu in the north and his army wins an important victory at the Second Battle of Panipat.



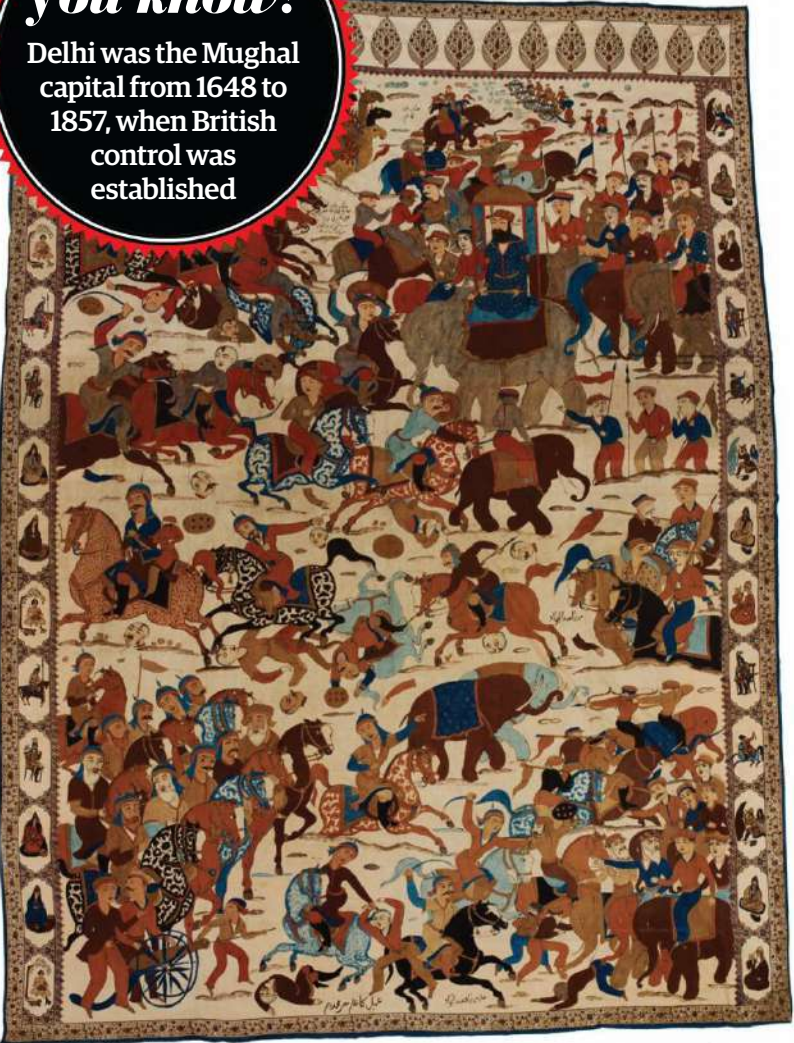
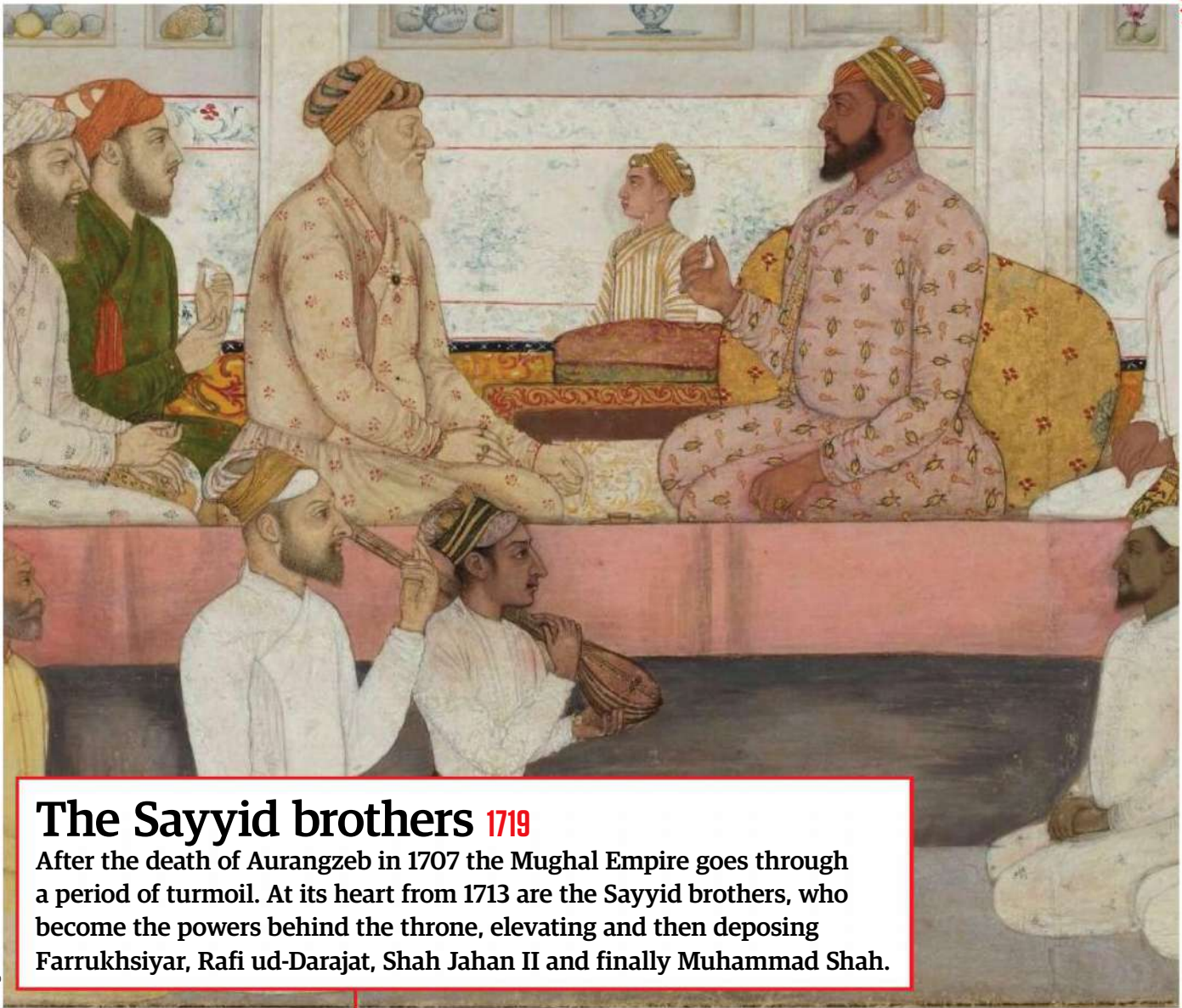
Did you know?
 Akbar is famed for his religious tolerance and endorsement of the arts, and military expansion

In loving memory 1632
 Shah Jahan begins the construction of a mausoleum for his favourite wife, Mumtaz Mahal, called the Taj Mahal. The project takes over 20 years to complete and 20,000 workers to build, including the gardens and ancillary buildings.



Did you know?

Delhi was the Mughal capital from 1648 to 1857, when British control was established



The Sayyid brothers 1719

After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 the Mughal Empire goes through a period of turmoil. At its heart from 1713 are the Sayyid brothers, who become the powers behind the throne, elevating and then deposing Farrukhsiyar, Rafi ud-Darajat, Shah Jahan II and finally Muhammad Shah.

Persian invasion 1739

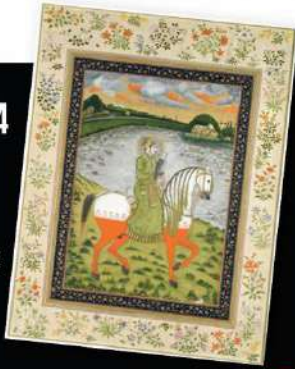
Nadir Shah, the Persian king, leads an invasion of northern India that sees him defeat the imperial army of Muhammad Shah at the Battle of Karnal and then proceed to sack what had become the capital of the Mughal Empire, Delhi.

COMPANY EXPANSION 1696

The East India Company establishes Fort William to be the base of its new trading station. The area would later become Calcutta, and is nowadays known as Kolkata.

BATTLE OF SIKANDARABAD 1754

In a devastating defeat for the Mughal Empire, the Maratha Confederacy that had been expanding from the western coast of India wins the Battle of Sikandarabad, killing an estimated 15,000 Mughals.



THE SEPOY MUTINY 1858

Sometimes called the First War of Independence, Indian troops rebel against British command. The revolt is suppressed and the India Act hands control of India from the East India Company to the British government.



1719

DECLINING EMPIRE 1720

After one of the Sayyid brothers is killed, Muhammad Shah is able to assert his independence. However, he will be the last Mughal emperor with complete control of his kingdom.

OUT OF EXILE 1760

After the assassination of his father, the exiled Shah Alam II declares himself emperor, setting his sights on reclaiming Delhi and the old dominance of the Mughal Empire.

BATTLE OF BUXAR 1764

The receding remnants of the Mughal Empire combines its strength with Bengal and Awadh against the East India Company, but loses comprehensively.



The Black Hole

1756

The ruler of Bengal, Sirāj al-Dawlah, captures Calcutta and the surrendering garrison of the East India Company is imprisoned. The cramped conditions and heat result in a number of deaths, although exact figures are disputed. Regardless, the incident becomes a rallying point for British imperialists.



The Sikh Wars 1845

The first and second Sikh Wars are fought between 1845 and 1849 between the East India Company and Sikh Punjab state. The first war sees the British take over swathes of Sikh land and install troops in Lahore. The second war is incited by a revolt in Multan that becomes national, but is crushed.



TAJ MAHAL

AGRA, INDIA, 1648

The Taj Mahal is considered to be one of the modern wonders of the world. It was made a World Heritage site by UNESCO in 1983 and is estimated to receive 2.5 million visitors a year. However, as glorious a building as it is, its origin story is filled with personal tragedy.

The Taj Mahal is ultimately a mausoleum commissioned by Shah Jahān around 1632 to house the remains of one of his wives, Mumtaz Mahal. They had met years before Shah Jahān was made emperor and she was his second of his three wives, even though she met him first. They were married for 13 years and had 14 children in that time (although only seven survived infancy). It was shortly after the birth of their 14th child that Mahal passed away in 1631.

Since he was in the middle of a campaign to quell a rebellion in Burhanpur, Shah Jahān had her buried immediately, according to Muslim tradition, but she was exhumed a little later and her remains moved to Agra, where her mausoleum would be built. To honour the woman who is often referred to as his favourite wife, Shah Jahān constructed one of the most impressive and intricately designed mausoleums in history.

Shah Jahān actually has something of a reputation as a builder thanks to a number of big construction projects that he sanctioned using imperial funds. Two great mosques were also built in his capital of Agra as well as a further mosque and the Red Fort in Delhi.

This particular project was the biggest, though, and he wanted it completed quickly. It's thought that around 20,000 people were employed in its construction, including both skilled and unskilled labourers. A town named Mumtazabad was built alongside the Taj Mahal construction area to house all of these workers.

Symmetry

An essential design element of the entire complex is that the Taj Mahal is nearly symmetrical in every detail. The garden is divided into four equal quadrants, the main building is flanked by four minarets, and on either side sit a mosque and guest house, each made from red sandstone and virtually identical in design.

White marble

The Taj Mahal is actually made from brick with a white marble exterior. The marble itself was sourced from multiple locations, including China, Tibet, Afghanistan and Sri Lanka, to name just a few. It was transported to the construction site using 1,000 elephants and an unknown number of oxen.

Calligraphy

All around the Taj Mahal you'll see incredibly detailed calligraphy. These are passages from the *Quran* (22 of them in total) chosen and written by Amanat Khan, a master calligrapher. As far as we know, he was the only person allowed by Shah Jahān to sign his work on the construction, which gives some indication of the esteem in which he was held.

Minarets

As is traditional in Islamic architecture the mausoleum is flanked by minarets, but while they look to be straight from a distance they actually lean slightly away from the main building. This is believed to be because if one or all of them should start to crumble and collapse they will fall away from the mausoleum and protect it from being damaged.

The tombs

The actual tombs and final resting place for Shah Jahān and Mumtaz Mahal are in a crypt underneath the main chamber at about the same level as the gardens that lead up to the Taj Mahal's main building. This design element is common among Mughal Empire tombs and is a feature of a number of other, if smaller and less grand, mausoleum designs.

Central dome

The massive dome at the heart of the Taj Mahal is typical of Islamic architecture dating back to around 691. However, this design nicely illustrates the way in which the Taj Mahal honours both Islamic and Hindu traditions in its design. The classic dome shape connects at its base to a lotus shape, an important symbol in Hinduism.

By the river

The location of the Taj Mahal is also interesting and touches on both Muslim and Hindu traditions. The tomb sits on the banks of the Yamuna River, with water being one of the four rivers of heaven (the others being wine, milk and honey). The Yamuna runs into the Ganges, which is a sacred river in Hinduism.

Precious stones

An important detail that you can't really see from a distance is the incredibly intricate flower designs, particularly on the inside of the Taj Mahal. This style is called *parchin kari* and involves sculpting the shapes of interweaving vines and flowers out of the marble, then inlaying those shapes with precious and semi-precious stones.

Cenotaphs

In the centre of the main chamber, beneath the Taj Mahal's famous dome, sit the two cenotaphs of Shah Jahān and his wife Mumtaz Mahal. Her cenotaph is actually the one immediately in the centre of the plinth with his, the larger of the two, set to its side. This one element of asymmetry in the design of the Taj Mahal has led many to believe Shah Jahān had not actually planned to be buried here.

Foundations

The technical challenge of building such an immense mausoleum in this location is as monumental as the final work itself. Sitting on the sandy banks of the Yamuna River the construction required wells to be dug into the bank, walled with wood and filled with rubble and mortar to stabilise the ground.

THE
Anatomy
of

A KATHAK DANCER

MUGHAL EMPIRE,
16TH – 17TH CENTURY

ORNATE JEWELLERY

The Mughal Empire was known for its stunning jewellery, so it's no surprise that kathak dancers were adorned with it, especially as jewellery helped to emphasise their movements. They typically wore pieces such as earrings, bracelets, armlets, necklaces and so on, which were made from gold or occasionally silver.

EYE-CATCHING COSTUME

Dancers wore trousers under their sheer skirts - known as churidar pajamas - in bright colours such as orange and red, which made them more noticeable. Not only did this hold the audience's attention, but it enabled them to see the deliberate and skilled movements of the kathak dancers.

THE ART OF STORYTELLING

Kathak is one of the eight forms of classical Indian dance, hailing from northern India. This dance originally focused on religious themes before it was adapted for the Mughal courts during the 16th century. Performed by courtesans, these themes were replaced with popular and secular folk stories to entertain the aristocracy.

EXPRESSIVE EYES

Facial movements were a key part of the kathak dance and prominent makeup was worn by the dancers to highlight their expressions as they enacted their stories. For example, they wore black kajal around their eyes as many of the facial movements focused on the eyes and eyebrows.

PERSIAN INFLUENCE

Kathak became heavily influenced by Persian dance and music during the Mughal Empire and this included the costumes that were worn. For example, dancers traditionally wore a transparent headscarf or veil, known as an odhani or orhni, which was typically worn by Persian women.

FLOWING DRESS

During the Mughal era dancers wore an angrakha dress, which left the midriff visible and had a sheer skirt, allowing audiences to see their legs underneath. The skirt, influenced by the costumes of Sufi dancers, would flare out during the dance but was short enough that it would not get entangled in their feet.

PERCUSSIVE FOOTWORK

Ghungroos, anklets of small metallic bells strung together, were worn by dancers to highlight their intricate and rapid footwork to the music. They also complemented the complex and rhythmic step sequences, known as tatkars, and the sound of the bells engaged the senses of the audience.

Historical Treasures

COIN OF EMPEROR JAHĀNGĪR

THE EMPIRE'S CURRENCY WAS ONE OF THE BEST IN THE WORLD, MUGHAL EMPIRE, 1611

Influenced by Shēr Shah, the sultan of the Suri Empire, Mughal Emperor Akbar introduced a tri-metallic currency with coins - dams, rupees and mohurs - made out of copper, silver and gold respectively. Dams were the small, basic coins used for small payments in the 16th century, but by the 17th century silver rupees were more commonly used.

Akbar reformed the empire's currency and consolidated imperial control over the coinage, developing a centralised, uniform monetary system. Imperial mints were established in a number of important cities including Lahore, Delhi and Agra, and only imperial coins could be used to pay taxes. It was also the coinage used to pay the regime's officials and soldiers.

Importantly, these coins were only valid if they bore the name of the current Mughal emperor.

Imperial mints churned out tens of millions of coins in gold, silver and copper. The Mughals minted their coins from imported bullion, namely gold from the New World and silver from Japan, because the empire had many exports that were in high demand. In fact, Mughal coins were renowned for being of high purity and they were not debased until the 1720s. For a fee, anyone who had bullion, foreign or old coins could take them to an imperial mint and have them minted.

It was during the reign of Akbar's son and successor, Emperor Jahāngīr, that the design and calligraphy of Mughal coins reached its zenith.

He chose to experiment with the imagery used on the coins and famously issued a series of unique gold and silver coins with images of the zodiac signs. Jahāngīr explained in his memoir that he decided to use constellation figures to indicate the month the coin was issued, rather than using inscriptions.

Interestingly, Jahāngīr was also the only Mughal emperor to give his consort the right of coinage, releasing silver rupees that bore the name of his beloved empress, Nūr Jahān. His son, Emperor Shah Jahān, tried to remove Nūr Jahān's coins from circulation after he ascended the imperial throne because they were a symbol of the power and influence that she held in the Mughal Empire.

THE EMPEROR'S LIKENESS

The coin features a full-length portrait of Jahāngīr sitting cross-legged and reclining against a bolster on a hexagonal throne, holding a cup in his hand. Jahāngīr's love for alcohol is well-documented and so it's possible that he's holding a wine goblet.

PROTECTIVE POWERS

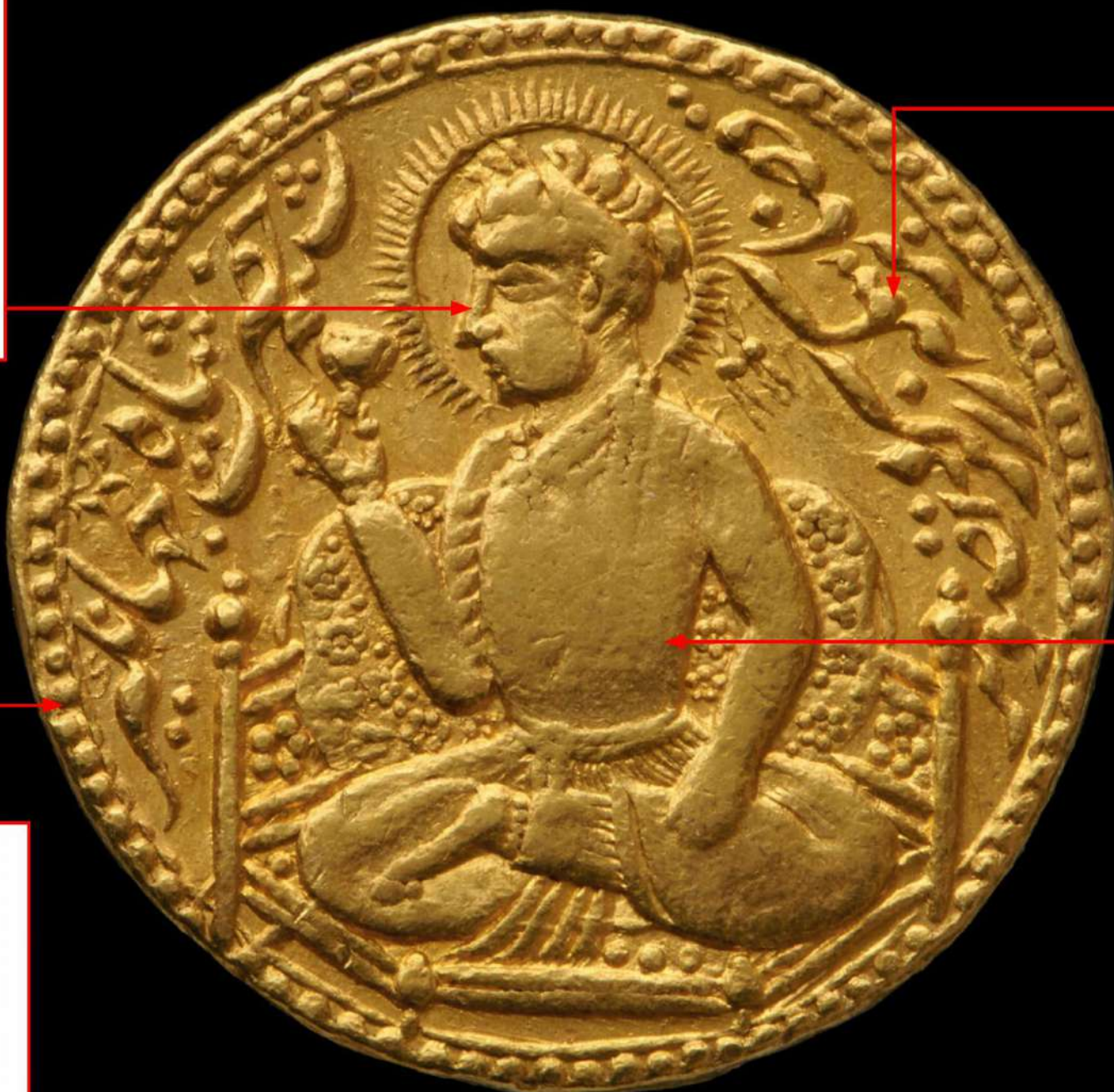
Around Jahāngīr's portrait is a Farsi inscription which reads 'Destiny has made the picture of a likeness of venerable king Jahāngīr on this gold coin'. People wore these coins as amulets to keep themselves safe, believing that the emperor's body had the power to protect them.

CONTROVERSIAL DESIGN

Jahāngīr angered the Muslim clergy with his unique and experimental coinage designs, especially those that featured his portrait. This is because a portrait is a depiction of a 'living being', which is considered taboo in accordance with Islamic tradition.

COIN DETAILS

This coin is a gold mohur and is 20.5mm in diameter. On the reverse side there's an inscription that states it was minted during the ninth year of Jahāngīr's reign at the imperial mint at Ajmer, where his court was based between 1615 and 1619.



Hall of Fame **EMINENT MUGHALS**

Discover ten interesting men and women of the powerful Mughal court

ABUL FAZL 1556-1602

Abul Fazl was the grand vizier of Emperor Akbar and his court historian. He was one of the nine ministers and great minds in the emperor's court that became collectively known as the Navratnas, which means 'nine jewels'. He was commissioned by Akbar to write the *Akbarnama*, also known as the 'Book Of Akbar', the official chronicle of the emperor's life and reign, as well as the *Ain-i-akbari*, which documented the administration of the empire. The *Akbarnama* took Abul Fazl seven years to complete and is illustrated with some of the best surviving Mughal paintings.



SAYYID HUSSAIN ALI KHAN BARHA 1666-1720

One half of the Sayyid brothers, Sayyid Hussain Ali Khan Barha was a kingmaker who deposed and ordered the assassination of Emperor Farrukhsiyar. The power behind the throne, Hussain Ali Khan and his brother Abdullah Khan installed and removed several puppet kings who had no independence or influence. Unsurprisingly, the two brothers made many enemies among the nobility and were eventually assassinated within days of each other.

AKBAR

1542-1605

Often hailed as the greatest Mughal emperor, Akbar greatly expanded the empire's territory over the Indian subcontinent during his reign, which included capturing the kingdoms of Bengal, Gujarat and Rajput and conquering Afghanistan. He

was celebrated for adopting reforms and policies to unify and maintain peace in his vast empire, most notably becoming the first Mughal emperor to promote religious tolerance for non-Muslims.

Akbar was a patron of art and architecture and had a passion for literature, despite the fact that he was illiterate, earning a reputation as a wise ruler who enjoyed serious discussion.



Akbar was only 13 years old when he succeeded his father, Humāyūn, as the Mughal emperor

BĀBUR

1483-1530

Bābur was a descendant of both Genghis Khan and Timur and was born in Ferghana, in present-day Uzbekistan. After capturing Kabul in Afghanistan in 1504, Bābur went on to successfully invade India and defeat Ibrahim Lodi, the Sultan of Delhi, at the Battle of Panipat in 1526. He subsequently founded the Mughal Empire and spent the rest of his reign conquering and consolidating his control across northern India, notably capturing the city of Agra in 1527. Although his dynasty ruled the empire for the next three centuries, Bābur died after only four years as emperor and he was succeeded by his son, Humāyūn.

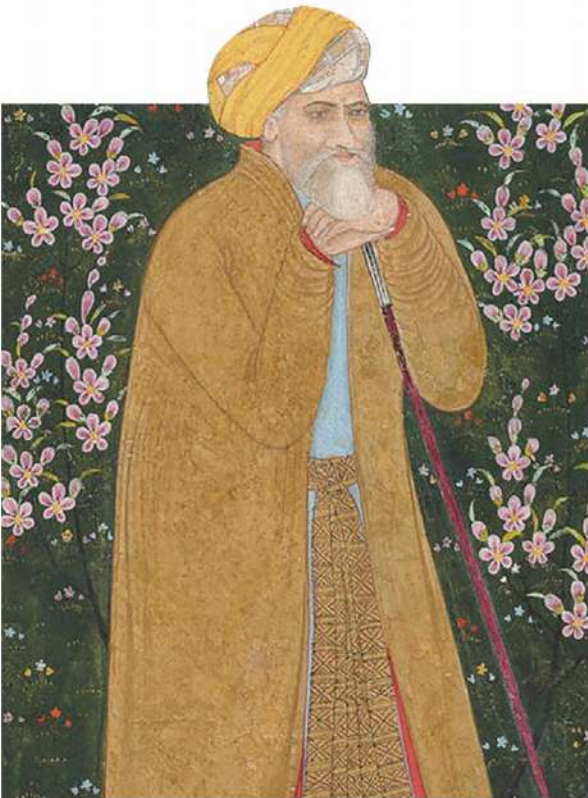
Bābur had a love for learning and he even penned his own memoirs, *Bāburnāma*

GULBADAN BEGUM

C.1523-1603

The daughter of Bābur and his wife Dildar Begum, Gulbadan famously wrote the *Humayun Nama*, an important contemporary account of her brother Humāyūn's reign. Commissioned by her nephew, Emperor Akbar, Gulbadan's work provides a rare insight into the everyday life of the royal family, as well as information about the Mughal harem. She spent the last years of her life dedicated to charity and devotion and upon her death, Akbar himself carried her bier.





JAHANARA BEGUM

1614-1681

The eldest child of Emperor Shah Jahan and Mumtaz Mahal, Jahanara Begum wielded a lot of political influence during her father's reign, often resolving disagreements among the imperial family. A renowned cultural patron, she funded many architectural projects with her own vast personal income, including the Chandni Chowk (the central bazaar in Old Delhi), the Jami Masjid mosque in Agra, and the Mullah Shah Badakhshi mosque in Srinagar - all of which are still standing today.

Jahanara succeeded her mother as padshah begum (first lady) of the Mughal Empire despite the fact that her father had other wives

MUMTAZ MAHAL

1593-1631

The famous inspiration for the Taj Mahal, Mumtaz Mahal was the empress consort and favourite wife of Emperor Shah Jahan. Although her birth name was Arjumand Banu Begum, her husband bestowed upon her the title of Mumtaz Mahal, which means 'beloved ornament of the palace'. A niece of Empress Nur Jahan, Mumtaz Mahal travelled with Jahan across the empire, even on his military campaigns. In fact, he trusted her so much that the emperor gave her his imperial seal, the Mehr Uzaz. Altogether she had 14 children with Jahan, including their third son, Emperor Aurangzeb.

Image source: wiki/Victoria and Albert Museum



FARRUKH BEG

c.1545-c.1615

One of the most famous painters of the Mughal Empire, Farrukh Beg joined the court of Emperor Akbar after his patron Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's half-brother, died. Travelling from Kabul to India, he created miniature paintings for some of the emperor's biggest commissions, such as the first illustrated edition of the *Akbarnama*. A testament to Farrukh Beg's skill, Emperor Jahangir praised his talent in his memoirs, stating that he was "unrivalled in the age".



Image source: wiki/Columbia University

BAHĀDUR SHĀH II

1775-1862

Bahādur Shāh II was nominally the last Mughal emperor, whose authority was restricted to the city of Delhi and the surrounding territory after the empire shrank significantly from the 18th century. In May 1857, there was a major rebellion involving both Muslims and Hindus against the British East India Company. The rebels seized Delhi and declared that Bahādur Shāh was their emperor, with revolt spreading across central India. However, the British had recaptured Delhi by September and the rebellion ultimately failed. The emperor, who was 81, was imprisoned, tried for treason and exiled to Burma, where he died five years later.

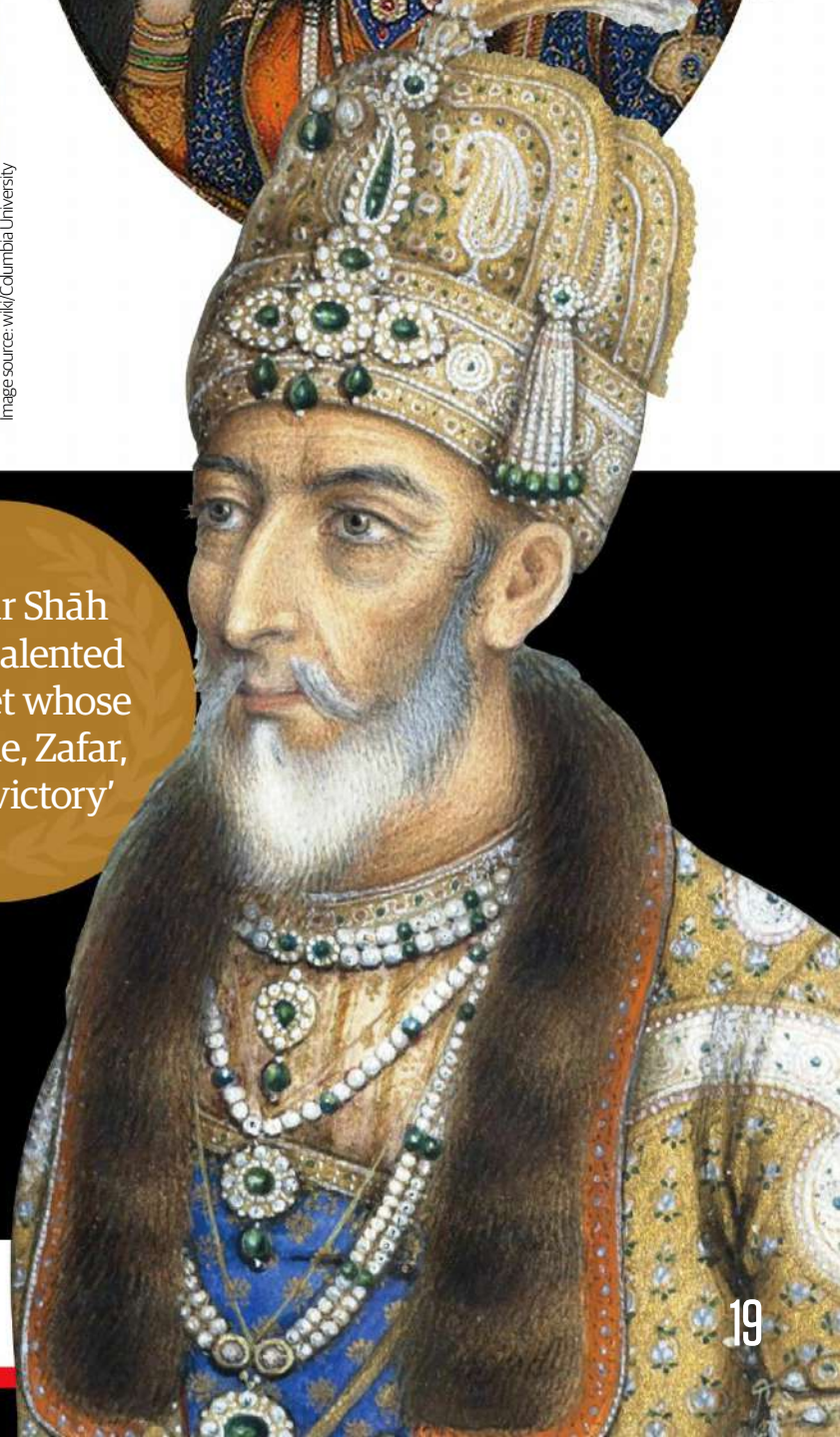
Bahādur Shāh II was a talented Urdu poet whose pen name, Zafar, meant 'victory'

NAUBAT KHAN

17TH CENTURY

Naubat Khan was an influential musician and composer at the Mughal court, renowned in particular for his skill playing the veena string instrument. Also known by the name Ali Khan Karori, he was the chief of the Naubat Khana, the drum house in which the royal drums and music were played, during the reign of Akbar. He remained at court after Akbar's death and was awarded the title 'Naubat Khan' by Emperor Jahangir in 1607.

Image source: wiki



Q&A With...

DR RUBY LAL

BRINGING THE ASTONISHING REIGN
OF EMPRESS NŪR JAHĀN TO LIFE

Nūr Jahān holding a
portrait of her husband,
Emperor Jahāngīr

Image source: wiki/ The Cleveland Museum of Art



Ruby Lal is Professor of South Asian History at Emory University in Atlanta, USA. She is the author of *Domesticity And Power In The Early Mughal World* (Cambridge University Press, 2005) and *Coming Of Age In Nineteenth-Century India: The Girl-Child And The Art Of Playfulness* (Cambridge University Press, 2013). Find out more at rubylal.com.

© Myron McChes

Q. WHO WAS NŪR JAHĀN AND WHY DID YOU DECIDE TO WRITE A BIOGRAPHY ABOUT HER?

A. Nūr Jahān (1577-1645) was the only woman ruler among the Great Mughals of India. Emperor Jahāngir's 20th and final wife, she was an incredible figure - an alliance builder who famously saved Jahāngir from captivity and struck political compromises. That's her life story as co-sovereign, which was erased from history. Scholars have acknowledged her power, but not demonstrated what it means to be a ruling Mughal woman sovereign. There is still the tendency in scholarly and other writings to lock her power in a romantic story with Jahāngir: in fact, romance becomes the explanation for her rise. I was inspired by her boldness, great political acumen - she was a trailblazer - and her astonishing reign. The history of the erasure of her leadership has deep resonances with how women leaders are perceived in the modern world. I wanted to bring her as co-sovereign to the centre stage of world history. Hence my book *Empress: The Astonishing Reign Of Nur Jahan*.

Q. HOW DID YOU RECONSTRUCT NŪR JAHĀN'S LIFE FOR YOUR BOOK?

A. Nūr Jahān, 'Light of World', so named by Jahāngir, was born only a few decades after Queen Elizabeth I of England, yet she ruled a territory larger and vastly more diverse than her British counterpart. Today, she is an omnipresent figure in the folklore of South Asia; little girls grow up reading stories of how she and Jahāngir met and fell in love, and how she saved a village stalked by a killer tiger, shooting it dead from the back of an elephant. Though many have heard these stories, they know almost nothing about her dynamic world, political acumen and powerful ambition. A Shi'a woman married to a Sunni king, Nūr Jahān was a remarkable leader in a male-dominated world. She didn't come from royalty like other renowned women rulers, and yet she ascended from the emperor's harem to great heights as an astute politician and favourite wife of Jahāngir. This was the history I charted using a phenomenal range of sources: architecture, court records, poetry and Mughal miniature painting.

Q. SHE HELD UNPRECEDENTED POWER AS CO-SOVEREIGN OF THE EMPIRE ALONGSIDE HER HUSBAND, EMPEROR JAHĀNGIR. HOW DID SHE BECOME SO POWERFUL IN A MALE-DOMINATED WORLD?

A. Born Mihr un-Nisa, she was the daughter of wealthy Persian nobles. She married a Mughal government official and former military officer in 1594, moving with him to Bengal and giving birth to her only child. Here, she experienced firsthand the complex centre-state political relationships, the intricate and layered mechanism of governance, and encountered direct experience with divinity in Vedantic philosophy.



Her Bengal years were tremendously important and my book brings those years to the fore for the first time. Her husband, suspected of participating in a plot against Jahāngir, was killed in a battle by the Bengal governor's men. The widowed Jahān was given refuge in Jahāngir's harem in Agra, where she was put in charge of three experienced senior matriarchs, among them Jahāngir's mother, from whom she learned about the ethics of harem life. The other women in the harem grew to trust and admire her, and in 1611 she married Jahāngir. Her ascent was fast: she minted coins in her name, struck imperial orders over her signature, and came out to the imperial balconies, fulfilling all the technical duties of sovereignty. The incredibly rich, tolerant and mobile culture of the Mughal court at this time allowed for different sensibilities, religions and traditions to coexist, which was vital to her ascent to power.

Q. PREVIOUS HISTORIOGRAPHY HAS ARGUED THAT SHE ROSE TO POWER BECAUSE JAHĀNGIR WAS A DRUNK AND INEPT RULER WHO HANDED THE EMPIRE TO HIS BELOVED WIFE. WHY HAVE HER ACCOMPLISHMENTS BEEN DISMISSED IN THIS WAY?

A. Locking her power in a romantic story or

Jahāngir's drunkenness is hardly a historically sound way to think about her rise. The key problem behind such stereotypes is what I call male disbelief: when it comes to women's authority, scholars work on the assumption that they know all there is to know. She was powerful, she issued coins in her name, she gave audience from the palace balconies! The result is we knew her, and yet we knew nothing about her. What did her sovereignty look like? Her qualities of head and heart, her political acumen, her wisdom, her ambition, her love?

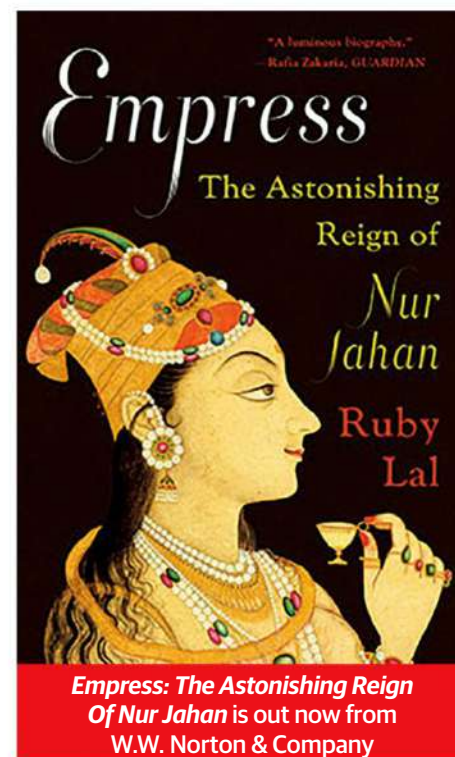
Another problem that scholars raise - especially on women - is that there are no sources to do this or that in history. The records for Jahān's sovereignty are plentiful and rich. It's how you approach the courtly documents, paintings, poetry, coins, architecture - and even legends. For example, scholars have assumed that Jahāngir doesn't say much about his wife in his memoir *Jahangirnama*, but if you look closely you will find over 30 long entries on her. Fascinated with the empress, he mentions her hunting repeatedly: she killed man-eating tigers! Hunting was a sovereign right to protect subjects and deeply associated with learning to govern the empire.

Q. IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT IS HER LEGACY TODAY?

A. Her brilliance, ambition and aesthetic tastes - the tomb of her parents that she designed served as a model for her stepson's Taj Mahal - and her ability to be her own person, working away despite all odds. Jahān was India's first female leader, a stunning achievement. On an 'Empress' Twitter group she thrives as a model for girls and women in South Asia. During a Q&A in Pakistan, the interviewer asked me: "Wouldn't it be a good idea to install a statue of Nūr Jahān?" I agree!

I always remember the writer Alice Walker's guidance to women: "If we don't keep our records, who will?" Each of us is responsible, to some degree, for writing about our stories, histories and experiences so that they can be preserved. We need to encourage all women to act as leaders and to leave their records behind. We need to tell stories of powerful women in classrooms

- engage in consciousness-raising, if you like. I'm frequently asked how could a woman leader like Jahān come to be in 17th-century India? That is precisely the point. We need to speak about her and other aspects of the rich, fluid, diverse history of the world. Telling people about Jahān's sovereignty will lead to more women's stories, more diversity and more discussion, strengthening and preserving the memory of today's women leaders for future generations.



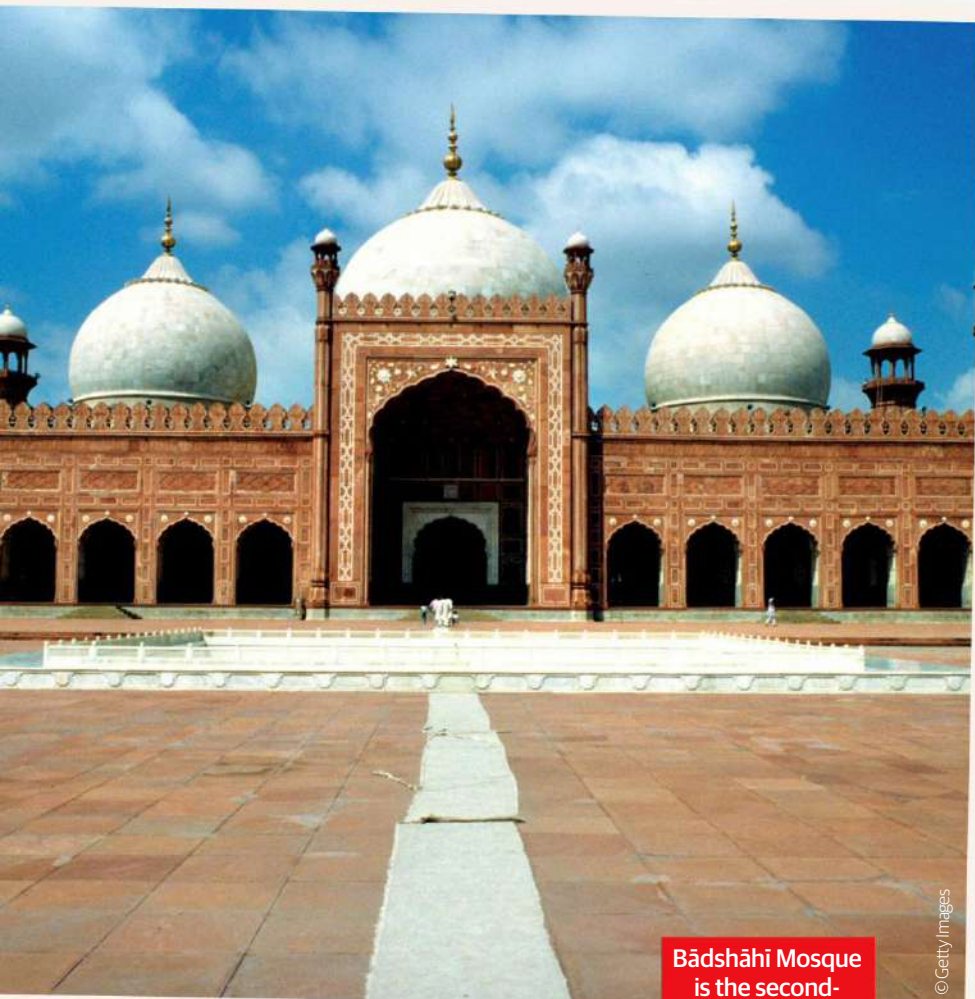
Places to Explore **ARCHITECTURAL GEMS**

Five breathtaking Mughal-era sites to feast your eyes on

BĀDShĀHĪ MOSQUE **LAHORE**

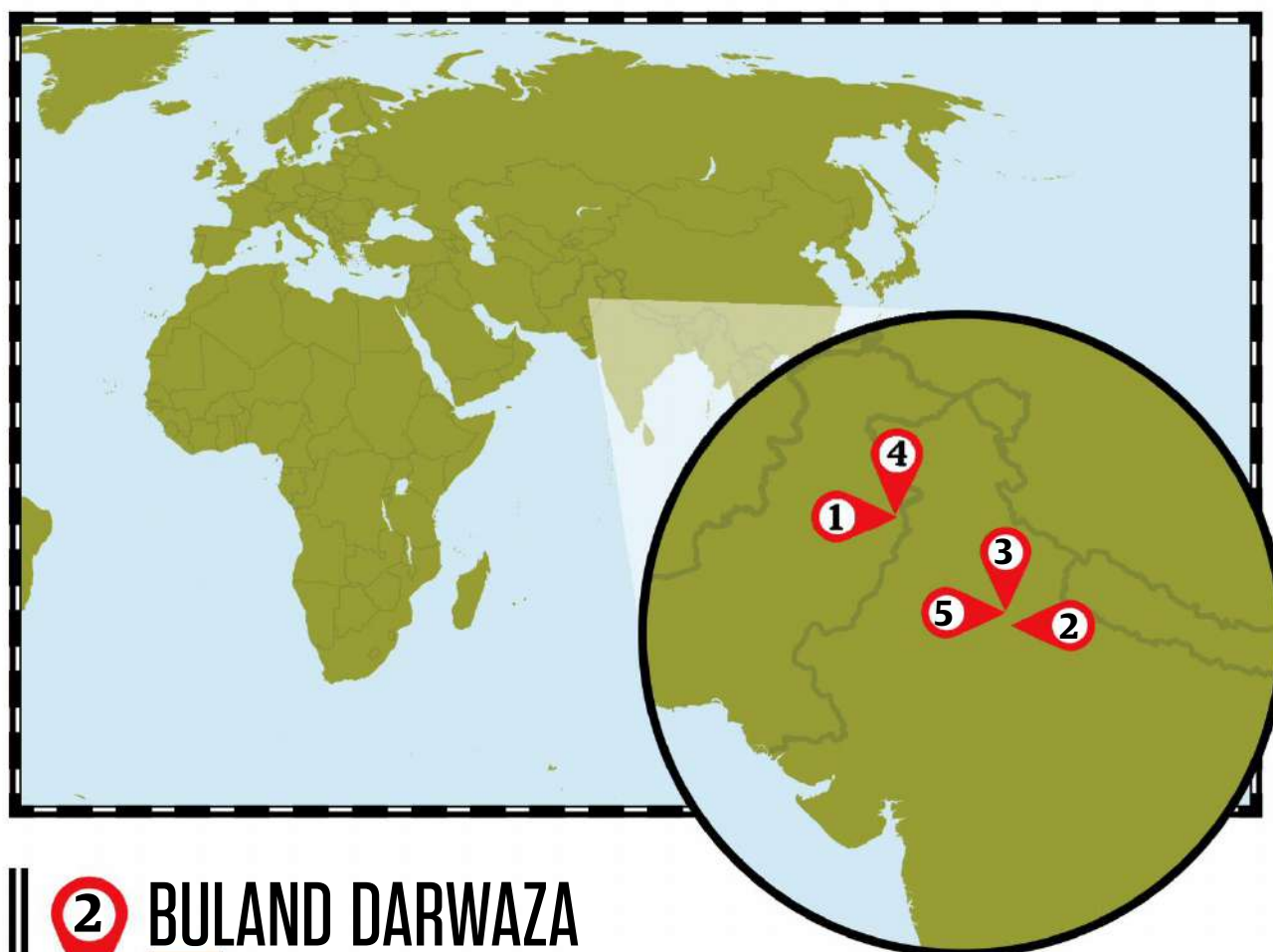
Commissioned by Emperor Aurangzeb to celebrate his military campaigns in South India, the Bādshāhi Mosque was built from 1671 to 1673, and today it remains one of the world's largest mosques as well as one of the most sacred landmarks in Lahore. An iconic piece of Mughal architecture, the mosque has three marble domes and four red sandstone minarets, one in each corner of the building. Visitors can learn about the history of the mosque and its construction, walk around the square courtyard and admire the Mughal frescoes that decorate the interior. Although it is free to enter the mosque, it does cost 5Rs to visit the rooms located above the entrance gate, which house numerous relics including what are said to be the hairs of the Prophet Muhammad. A popular tourist destination, the mosque is a sight to behold when it's illuminated at night and, for those who are interested, the Lahore Fort is within walking distance. Remember to abide by the dress code as the Bādshāhi Mosque is a sacred place.

Open daily, 8am-8pm. Entrance to the rooms costs 5Rs.



Bādshāhi Mosque is the second-largest mosque in Pakistan

© Getty Images

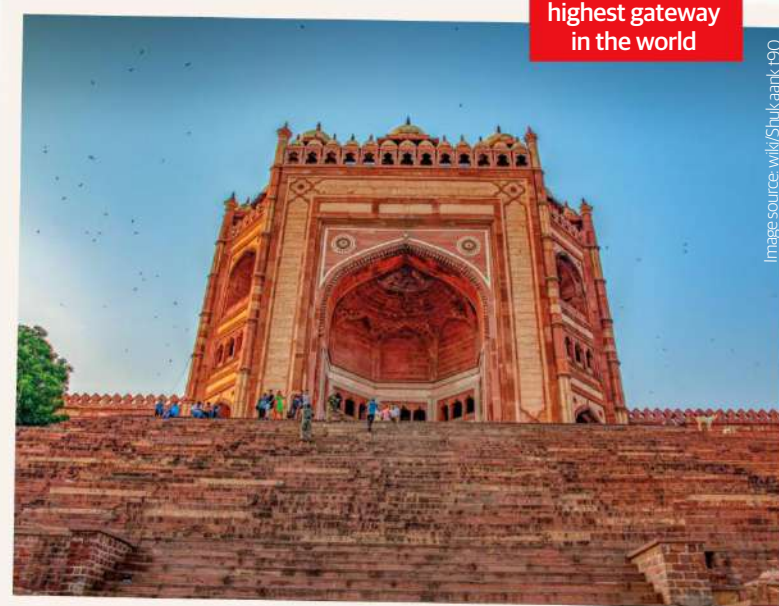


BULAND DARWAZA **FATEHPUR SIKRI**

The Buland Darwaza, also known as the 'Gate of Victory', was commissioned by Emperor Akbar to commemorate his conquest of the Gujarat Sultanate. It was built in 1601 and is made of red and buff sandstone, decorated with carvings and white and black marble inlay. A stunning piece of Mughal architecture, the Buland Darwaza serves as the entrance to the Jama Masjid, a 17th-century mosque, in Fatehpur Sikri.

It has three entrances and the largest one, in the centre, is called the Horseshoe Gate because horseshoes have been nailed on it as a symbol of good luck. Visitors will be able to see some of Akbar's favourite verses from the *Quran* inscribed on the Darwaza, as well as inscriptions from Christian texts and Persian verses, a testament to the emperor's religious tolerance. It is also worth noting that the town of Fatehpur Sikri briefly served as the capital of the Mughal Empire and it was designated as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1986.

Open daily, 8am-7pm. Average adult ticket is 10Rs for Indians and SAARC nationals, 750Rs for foreign tourists, which includes entry to Fatehpur Sikri.



The Buland Darwaza is the highest gateway in the world

Image source: wiki/Shutterstock



Humayun's Tomb is an important piece of Mughal heritage

3 HUMAYUN'S TOMB DELHI

The tomb of Emperor Humayun, influenced by both Persian and Indian styles, set a precedent for Mughal architectural design. As a result, it served as the inspiration for many architectural innovations, including the Taj Mahal, which was built six decades later. Commissioned by Humayun's first wife and chief consort, Empress Bega Begum, it was built in the 1560s from red sandstone and inlaid with white marble, with a Persian-style marble dome in the centre. The tomb was the first garden-tomb to be constructed on the Indian subcontinent and is an example of a charbagh, a four-quadrant garden that is based on the four gardens of Paradise, which are mentioned in the *Quran*. There is plenty for visitors to explore, especially as it's known as

the 'Dormitory of the Mughals' because over 150 of Humayun's family members are buried here. In fact, the complex houses the tombs of other Mughal emperors as well as the tombs for members of Humayun's entourage, including his favourite barber. Undoubtedly, Humayun's tomb has a fascinating history for visitors to uncover - the last Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar, took refuge here before he was captured and exiled by the British in 1857. Designated a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1993, Humayun's Tomb is a quiet and peaceful location in the midst of the bustling city of Delhi.

Open daily 6am-6pm. Average adult ticket is 30Rs for Indians and 500Rs for foreign tourists.



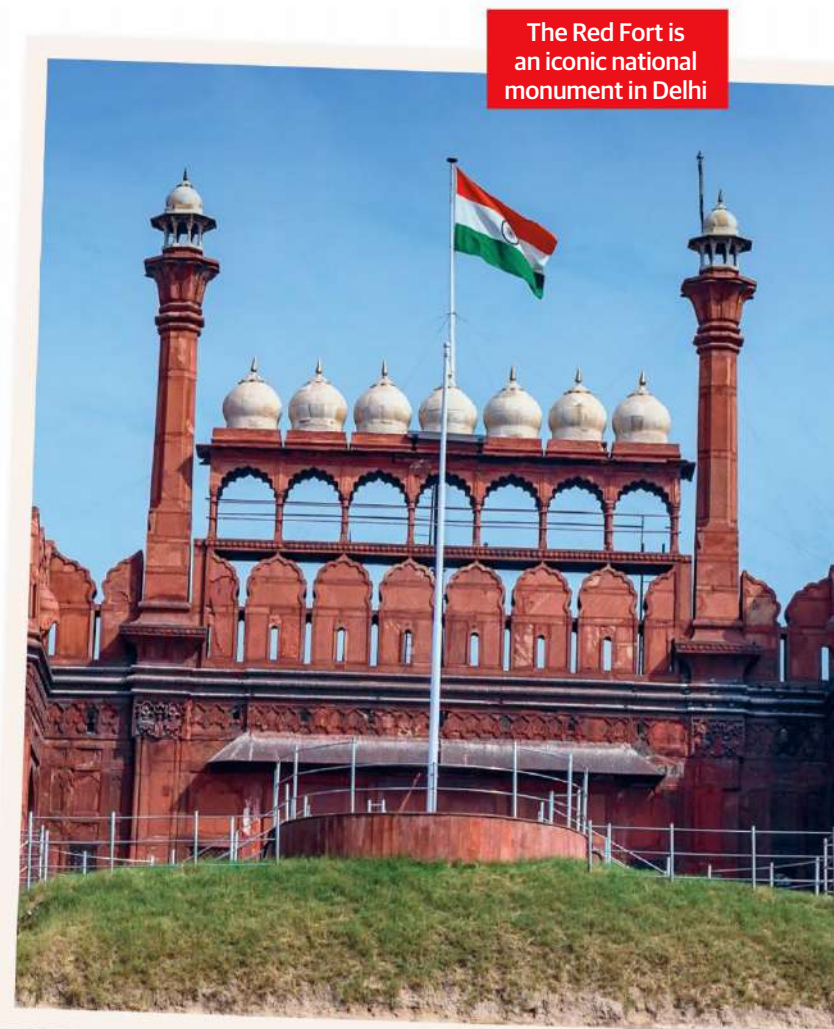
The Shalimar Gardens are a UNESCO World Heritage site

4 SHALIMAR GARDENS LAHORE

One of the most popular tourist destinations in Pakistan, Shalimar Gardens was built between 1641-42 during the reign of Emperor Shah Jahān. The design of the gardens was inspired by the Shalimar Gardens in Kashmir, constructed by Shah Jahān's father, Emperor Jahāngīr. The garden complex is a Persian paradise garden with enclosing walls of red sandstone and was envisioned to be an earthly utopia, with a variety of flowers for visitors to feast their eyes on as well as trees such as apple, cherry and peach. It is laid out across

three descending terraces on a gentle slope and filled with elaborate waterworks, with over 400 fountains that flow into wide marble pools. Dotted around there are also a number of pavilions, where visitors can rest and appreciate the magnificence of the gardens. A sight not to be missed, the gardens are considered to be the height of Mughal architectural landscape design.

Open daily 8am-6pm. Average adult ticket is 20Rs for Indians and SAARC nationals, 500Rs for foreign tourists.



The Red Fort is an iconic national monument in Delhi

5 RED FORT NEW DELHI

The historic Red Fort complex was built on the orders of Emperor Shah Jahān between 1639 to 1648, after he decided to move the empire's capital from Agra to Delhi. It served as the emperor's palace fort and residence and was named after its enclosing walls of red sandstone, which are 23m high. A pinnacle of the Persian, Hindu and Timurid styles that influenced Mughal architecture, the Red Fort was designed by Ustad Ahmad Lahori, the architect of the Taj Mahal. Built on nearly 255 acres of land, there is plenty for visitors to see, with gardens, balconies, palaces, indoor canals and pavilions among the sights to explore. The fort's main gate, Lahore Gate, leads to the Chhatta Chowk, a long arched passageway that now contains a bazaar. It is at this gate where the first prime minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, raised the Indian national flag after India gained its independence from Britain in 1947 - a tradition that has continued annually since. With so much to see at the Red Fort, it's recommended that visitors go on a guided tour of the complex - there are audio guides available as well as a guide app for your phone. For an extra fee, there is also a light and sound show that narrates the fascinating story of the fort.

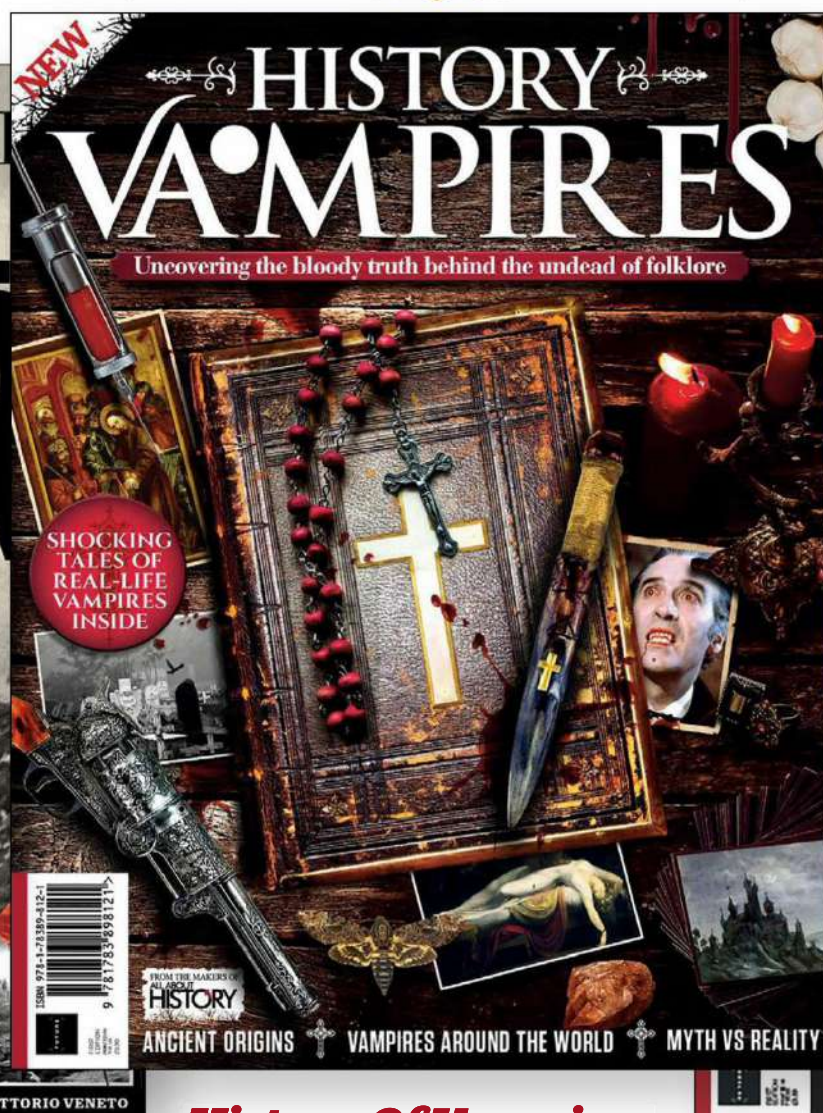
Open Tues-Sun, 9:30am-4:30pm. Average adult ticket is 35Rs for Indians and 500Rs for foreign tourists.

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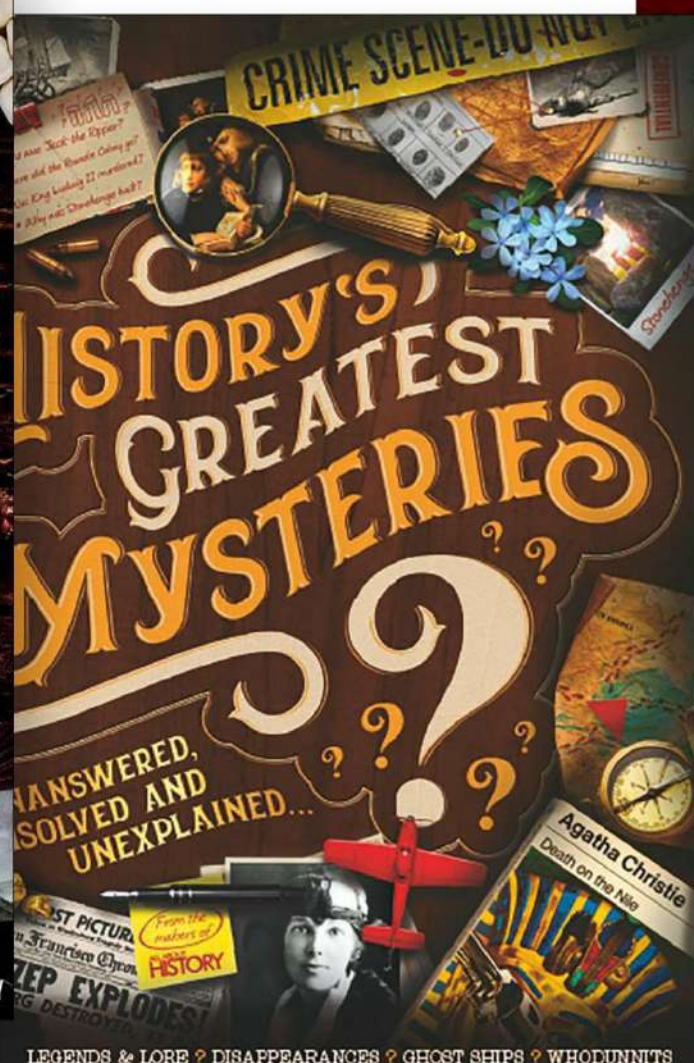
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Illustrations by Joe Cummings



Image source: wiki/Imperial War Museum

A group of German Heinkel He 111 bombers, a poor match for the Hurricane and Spitfire



A young RAF gunner trains in an Avro Anson reconnaissance aircraft over Oxfordshire in 1940



2x © Getty Images

Sir Keith Park, one of the key coordinators of the battle



1940-2020 BATTLE OF BRITAIN

We celebrate the heroes who defended the skies over Britain, in what was their finest hour

Written by Callum McKelvie

By the summer of 1940, the German war machine appeared invincible. Britain had suffered a humiliating defeat in northern France, and although the evacuation of over 338,000 Allied troops from Dunkirk in May and June was a massive achievement, a huge amount of equipment had been lost. Germany had yet to suffer a major defeat at this point.

"The Germans had been, to put it mildly, in a good run of form," says Craig Murray, a curator at the Imperial War Museum's RAF Duxford site. "They'd quickly destroyed Poland's obsolete airforce and had managed to beat both France and Britain in a matter of weeks. Even to the German High Command this was probably beyond their wildest dreams. However, now they were left with a quandary. Hitler had wanted to negotiate peace with the British. He'd never seen Britain as a natural enemy, more as an ally and not a substantial

threat, and he switched regularly between invasion and negotiation."

Yet, despite these negotiation attempts, there was an invasion plan in place and ready to be implemented. "This is Operation Sea Lion," says Murray. "For a long period Hitler sits on this and attempts to bring Britain to an agreement. Sea Lion is a massive gamble. It requires all three aspects of the German armed services to work well together, which they don't. The army thinks it's a relatively easy job to have troops shipped over in barges across 20-odd miles of water. The Kriegsmarine (the German navy), however, are a little bit more hesitant and see the disparity in strength between themselves and the Royal Navy; they're not really in that league. The plan also relies heavily on the Luftwaffe achieving air superiority. The problem for the Luftwaffe, however, is in winning the battle with Britain for France they've lost about half their operational

strength, so it hasn't been an easy victory. It's a very difficult plan to pull off. As Moltke, the Prussian field marshal, said, 'No plan survives initial contact with the enemy.' It's not a great plan and eventually they abandon it altogether."

Despite these initial concerns, however, the German High Command decided to implement Sea Lion, which raises the question: how ready were the RAF for a large-scale attack? The answer is, of course, extremely ready. Fighter Command had been preparing for a considerable amount of time and despite defeat in the Battle of France, in the Battle of Britain they were able to utilise an ingenious new system organised by Commander-in-Chief Hugh Dowding. "He comes up with an integrated battle management system which utilises radar," Murray explains. "He's seen the advantage of radar early on. He's got no scientific or technological background but he intuitively understands good



technology and what he's going to do with it. This gives the initial warning when the Germans are at Calais and as soon as they take off the British know about it. He integrates this with the Observer Corps, who are essentially volunteers that sit in small posts in the countryside and on top of high buildings in towns, using binoculars etc to view aircraft overland. At this point radar can only really track across the Channel, so they are the eyes once the aircraft cross the coast. This information will be filtered and processed before reaching group headquarters, who then decide which fighters are going to go up and how many aircraft they need.

"The real genius is it allows you to have a proportional tactical response to any raid. You don't have to wait in patrols, the aircraft hanging about and waiting for things to happen, wasting fuel. You only use what you need. Integrally it looks after the most important asset the RAF has - its pilots. There's a chronic shortage of pilots and the fact they don't waste more pilots than they need to does help.



Operations Room
at RAF Duxford

"It's generally broken up into several phases," says Murray. "It begins in June when the Germans start probing the defences of Britain in what could best be described as nuisance attacks, sending over a few bombers. This then moves into another phase called the Kanalkampf, when the Luftwaffe is tasked with bombing Channel shipping to destroy

and the occasional daylight attack. So it runs through these various phases in which the Germans try different things and invariably fail."

Following the main phase of the battle and the failure of the Eagle attack, the Germans would change tactics significantly and the period known as the Blitz would begin. Starting on 7 September, German planes attacked London every night but one until mid-November, with Birmingham and Bristol following suit in mid-October. But how did the Battle of Britain lead to this next phase, the systematic bombing of the British capital and other major cities?

"They've been trying to knock out the RAF for a month," Murray explains. "They've done damage and stretched the RAF but they've never beaten them. They're forced to chop and change so often that they begin to concentrate their attacks on cities. The principle is to attempt to bomb the civilian population into submission and hopelessness, forcing it to collapse. However, strategic bombing in Vietnam and other conflicts has since shown that this as a policy doesn't really work and neither does the Blitz. There's a huge loss of life, there's no denying that, and it's not underplaying what the Blitz did, but for the Luftwaffe it's just another failed attempt to win."

The Blitz was not the only way the German military was forced to rethink its tactics. The Battle of Britain had shown that total domination of Europe was not going to be possible. If they were going to continue to face Britain it would have to occur in a different setting.

Murray explains: "Importantly, the Germans now obviously shift their attention to the invasion of Russia. This has been on the cards before, but

"THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN SHOWED THE WORLD THE NAZIS COULD BE STOPPED"

Keith Park at 11 Group is the one that really wields the weapon that Dowding has created and if we're talking about great British commanders, he's one of them. He sustains a brilliant defence using this system for five months through what must have been extraordinary pressure."

The Battle of Britain, unlike other battles, which tend to have a clear start and end date, stretches over several months and it's not necessarily agreed on as to when things started and ended. Despite this, however, there are several distinct phases through which the events of the battle can be explained.

supplies and drag the RAF away to defend ships. There's one attack in July which leads to the biggest dogfight over the Channel so far, which is why the British tend to date the start as 11 July. However, German historians look more to the next phase and 13 August, when the Luftwaffe began the Eagle attack, which is the main month-long attack in which the Luftwaffe tries to destroy the RAF, bombing industrial cities and airfields. They switch again in September when they move into the Blitz phase when they have day and night attacks on London, and then after that period they're still bombing London



now they begin to seriously focus on opening an Eastern Front. It also means that the Germans have suffered their first military setback and defeat since they started the Blitzkrieg."

But what was the immediate effect for the British? After five long months of defending that ended in a crucial victory, where would they take the fight next? And what about the future of the Allies?

"The RAF haven't destroyed the Luftwaffe outright but they have been beaten and it means that Operation Sea Lion is essentially off," says Murray. "As a result things in Britain essentially carry on as before, except now they start to open up a front in North Africa. It also fundamentally changes the American view and proves that Britain can survive and has survived. Before there was certainly some feeling that Britain was going to fall, but this proves otherwise and shows Britain is an ideal place to launch the invasion of Europe in 1944. An island base where you can land your troops and equipment."

However, for some of the key players within Britain's defence, not all of the results were positive. "One unfortunate consequence is that Park and Dowding lose their jobs," Murray explains. "It comes down to something called the 'Big Wing' (a formation of five squadrons) under 12 Group's command. The principle behind the use of the Big Wing was essentially the idea that it didn't matter if the Germans

had already bombed the towns and cities, you strike with this mass force when they began to return home, whereas the Dowding system works on the principle that you attack before. Additionally, getting five squadrons in the air is very cumbersome. So basically Park wanted them to come down and defend 11 Group's airfield while they engaged the enemy. Often the Big Wing didn't turn up, were late or decided to go off and do their own thing, which would leave air fields unprotected. This increased tension between the two groups to the point where Park would not speak to them. However, pro-Big Wing thinking reaches high office and although Dowding would have been retired soon anyway, Park is seen as being difficult (due to his opposition to the Big Wing) and as a result he's replaced." But this was not the end of Park. "Park goes to North Africa and Malta, where he wins and ends up in Italy and the Far East, winning wherever he goes," Murray states, laughing, before solemnly concluding: "That's one of the negatives: the architects of victory lose their jobs over it."

When discussing the war and Britain's role, emphasis is more often than not placed on offensive campaigns launched towards the end of the war rather than this earlier defensive struggle. Yet Murray is very clear on the Battle of Britain's significance: "It's important for



the world. It shows that the Nazis can be stopped because before then it didn't look like they could. It's an important point - a marker has been laid down. They haven't won here, they've been defeated. It's extremely important for the Allied victory because it means we're still in the game and we're not going to be invaded."

IWM Duxford's new exhibition, The Ops Block: The Battle of Britain, explores the experience of being inside an operations room the day the battle ended. The exhibition will be open to the public from 15 September and grants visitors access to previously unseen and newly transformed World War II rooms. Further information can be found at: iwm.org.uk/visits/iwm-duxford.

ABOVE A crashed Messerschmitt BF 109E-1 is examined by RAF personnel

BELOW A view of London following a particularly heavy bombing raid



EXPERT BIO

Craig Murray is one of the curators at RAF Duxford and the lead curator for the redeveloped Ops Block exhibition. His work concerns the history of RAF Duxford, the Battle of Britain, the development of the Spitfire and the Big Wing.

© IWM

2x © Getty Images



THE MANY BEHIND THE FEW

Thousands of brave individuals worked tirelessly on the ground in a massive effort to coordinate, defend and assist the aces in the sky

WAAF SECTOR STATION OPERATION ROOMS

The successor to the Women's Royal Air Force (1918-1920), the Women's Auxiliary Air Force was founded at the outbreak of war in 1939. Its duties during the Battle of Britain primarily involved working as filterers and plotters, turning raw data from radar into usable material and passing it on to the relevant parties.

One of the most famous stories of the bravery shown by members of the WAAF involves three young women located at Biggin Hill. Corporal Elspeth Henderson was operating the special telephone and Sergeant Helen Turner was switchboard operator on the night of 10 September. Despite constant attack from German bombers, the two women continued gallantly with their work. When the roof of the building suffered a direct hit they remained at their posts as flames tore through the structure. When they were

ordered to leave they were forced to climb through the wreckage of the collapsing building. Several nights earlier on 1 September, Sergeant Joan Mortimer was manning the switchboard telephone as the Luftwaffe dropped several tons of high explosive. As the air raid siren sounded she continued working, before venturing out before the 'All Clear' had been sounded to mark unexploded bombs with red flags. Even as one went off, she continued with her work. All three women were awarded the Military Medal.





ABOVE A Hurricane is refuelled by a member of the ground crew

MAIN-LEFT
A member of the Observer Corps watching the skies over London

FAR-LEFT INSET
Barrage balloons tethered over London

LEFT INSET
RAF plotters at No.10 Group Headquarters at Rudloe Manor in Wiltshire.

OPERATIONS STAFF

Usually, the information gathered by the WAAF plotters was then directed by a group of eight senior staff. All male, these were headed by the senior controller, who was responsible for the squadrons at his station; the assistant controller, who would communicate with other squadrons; and two deputy controllers, one of which would keep up communications with other sectors while the other would be coordinating air-sea rescue. Alongside this group there were also liaison officers, who would communicate with the Observer Corps, and Anti-Aircraft Command and Operations A and B, who would keep up communications with the Sector Stations Group and scramble the fighter aircraft respectively.

OBSERVER CORPS

During the latter stages of World War I and beyond, Major General Ashmore organised groups to assist in the detecting of enemy aircraft as fear of potential air raids became more prominent as the technology developed. Following successful trials in 1924 and 1925, an extensive organisation was formed. Comprised of volunteers, by 1940 there were some 30,000 observers (4,000 of which were women) stationed at over 1,000 posts. During the Battle of Britain, their role was to continue where radar had left off - tracking enemy planes over land where radar could not. Once notified of incoming planes, Fighter Command would ring the relevant post, whose role it would then be to provide information on the type of aircraft and their exact height.

BALLOON COMMAND

One defence placed around potential target areas were huge barrage balloons, the sight of which also helped to boost civilian morale. These devices helped force

the German bombers higher, at which point they could be engaged by anti-aircraft guns and fighter aircraft. Tethered roughly 100 yards apart, they provided a formidable blockade. During the battle, members of the WAAF worked alongside male staff in order to man and operate the balloons. Following the battle, a shortage of men meant that many Balloon Command crews were operated entirely by women, whose responsibility it was to inflate, raise or lower, and maintain the position of the balloons.

GROUND CREW

Whilst the battle raged above, on the ground it was the job of talented engineers, fitters and riggers to make sure that the planes kept flying and the airfield was ready to receive any which came in to land. Engineers maintained the aircraft, repairing any battle damage and carrying out vital maintenance. The armourers' job was somewhat self-explanatory and they were given the responsibility of loading the ammunition and weapons, as well as making sure distress flares were on board. The fitters' and riggers' role was to prepare the aircraft for take off, wheeling them into position, starting the engines and strapping the pilot into his parachute.

ANTI-AIRCRAFT COMMAND

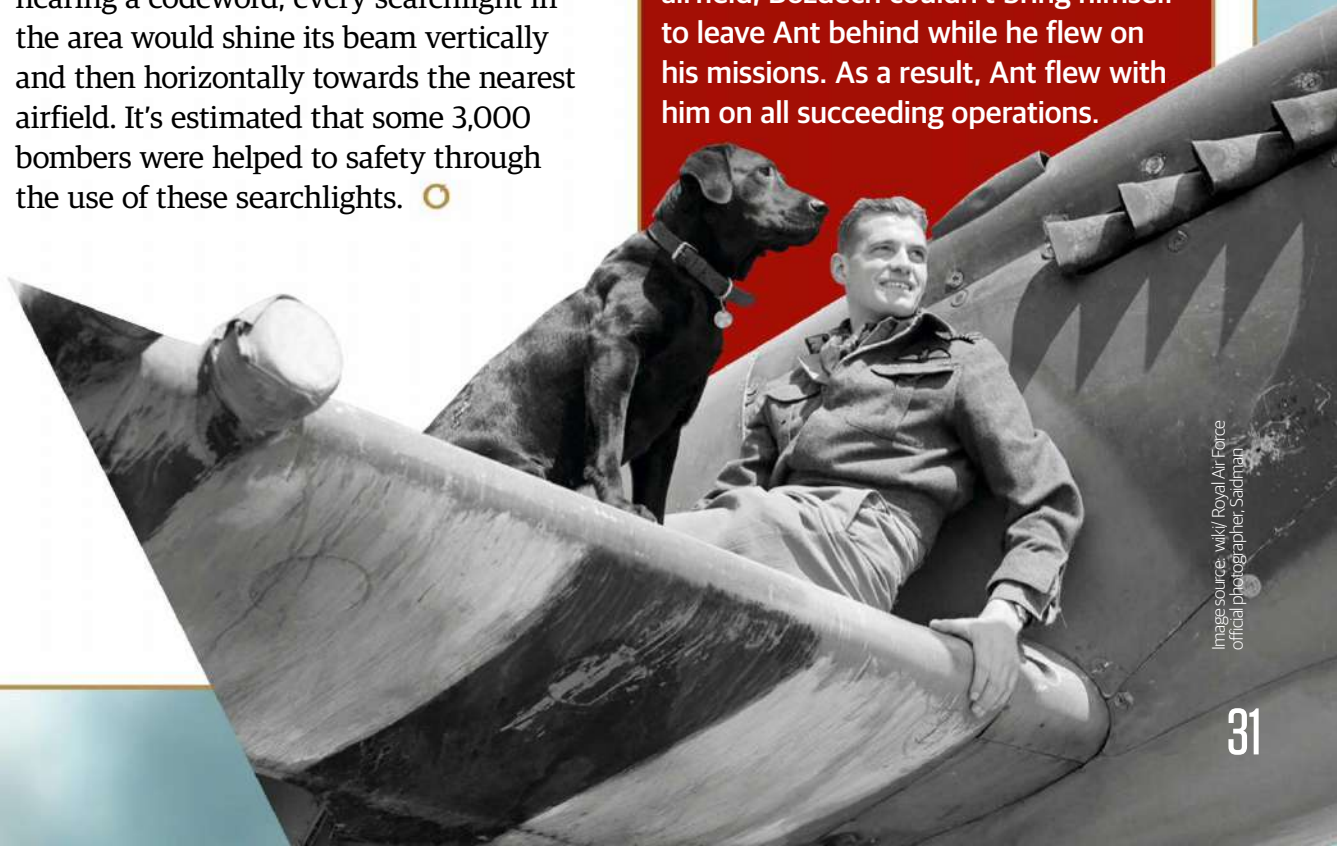
Another form of defence were the large anti-aircraft guns, whose purpose was to target enemy aircraft and blast them out of the sky, thus providing further support. Throughout the battle there were some 1,000 heavy and 700 light anti-aircraft guns. Together they shot down some 300 enemy aircraft, waiting for the searchlight to find their target and then striking. These searchlights had a secondary purpose, assisting damaged Allied bombers find their way home. Upon hearing a codeword, every searchlight in the area would shine its beam vertically and then horizontally towards the nearest airfield. It's estimated that some 3,000 bombers were helped to safety through the use of these searchlights. ○

PILOTS AND POOCHES

As well as helping hands there was always a helping paw in the RAF

During the war many pilots of the Royal Air Force kept dogs as pets, and the four-legged friends were a regular sight, greeting their masters on the airfield. One of the most famous of these was fighter pilot George Unwin's dog, Flash, an Alsatian based with his owner at RAF Duxford. Such is the popularity of this particular pooch that the Imperial War Museum's shop now sells cuddly versions of Flash! Other notable mascots include Sally, the Labrador of Wing Commander JE 'Johnnie' Johnson, one of the Canadian squadrons. Sally reportedly became jealous of Johnson's horse Hans and whenever he rode it, would lie down in front and pretend to be asleep. Polish Squadron 303 was also known to keep a puppy as a mascot, but it wasn't just the RAF who had an affinity for four-legged friends. Perhaps one of the most famous stories of a pilot and his dog concerns a Czechoslovakian pilot in the French air force, Robert Bozdech, and his dog Ant. Having crashed in occupied territory in 1940, Bozdech was taking shelter in a French farmhouse when he heard a noise. Shouting out and threatening what he took to be the enemy, he discovered in fact a small German Shepherd puppy. Taking the puppy with him, a lifelong bond formed between the two and the puppy was even named after a Czech aircraft nicknamed the Ant. After a particularly close call involving the German bombing of an airfield, Bozdech couldn't bring himself to leave Ant behind while he flew on his missions. As a result, Ant flew with him on all succeeding operations.

RIGHT
JE 'Johnnie' Johnson, commander of the No. 144 Wing, with his Labrador Sally in Normandy, 1944





INSIDE THE HAWKER HURRICANE

Exploring the aircraft that held the front line in the Battle of Britain

Written by Mike Haskew

ENGINE

The Rolls-Royce Merlin was a liquid-cooled, 12-cylinder inline aircraft engine developed in the early 1930s. The versatile Merlin was one of the most successful aircraft engines of World War II, also powering the Avro Lancaster bomber, Supermarine Spitfire fighter, and improving the performance of the North American P-51 Mustang fighter.

ARMAMENT

The early production Mk. I Hurricane was armed with eight wing-mounted Browning .303-calibre machine guns, while later versions mounted a variety of weapons. The IIB, for example, was upgunned with 12 .303-calibre machine guns and racks for a pair of 113kg or 227kg bombs. Later variants proved to be extremely effective tank-busting aircraft.

COCKPIT

The tight but efficient Hawker Hurricane cockpit included a standard instrument panel directly in front of the pilot's seat with the stick centred. Engine instruments, including boost gauge, oil pressure and temperature indicators, as well as the fuel pressure indicator, were to the right on the panel.

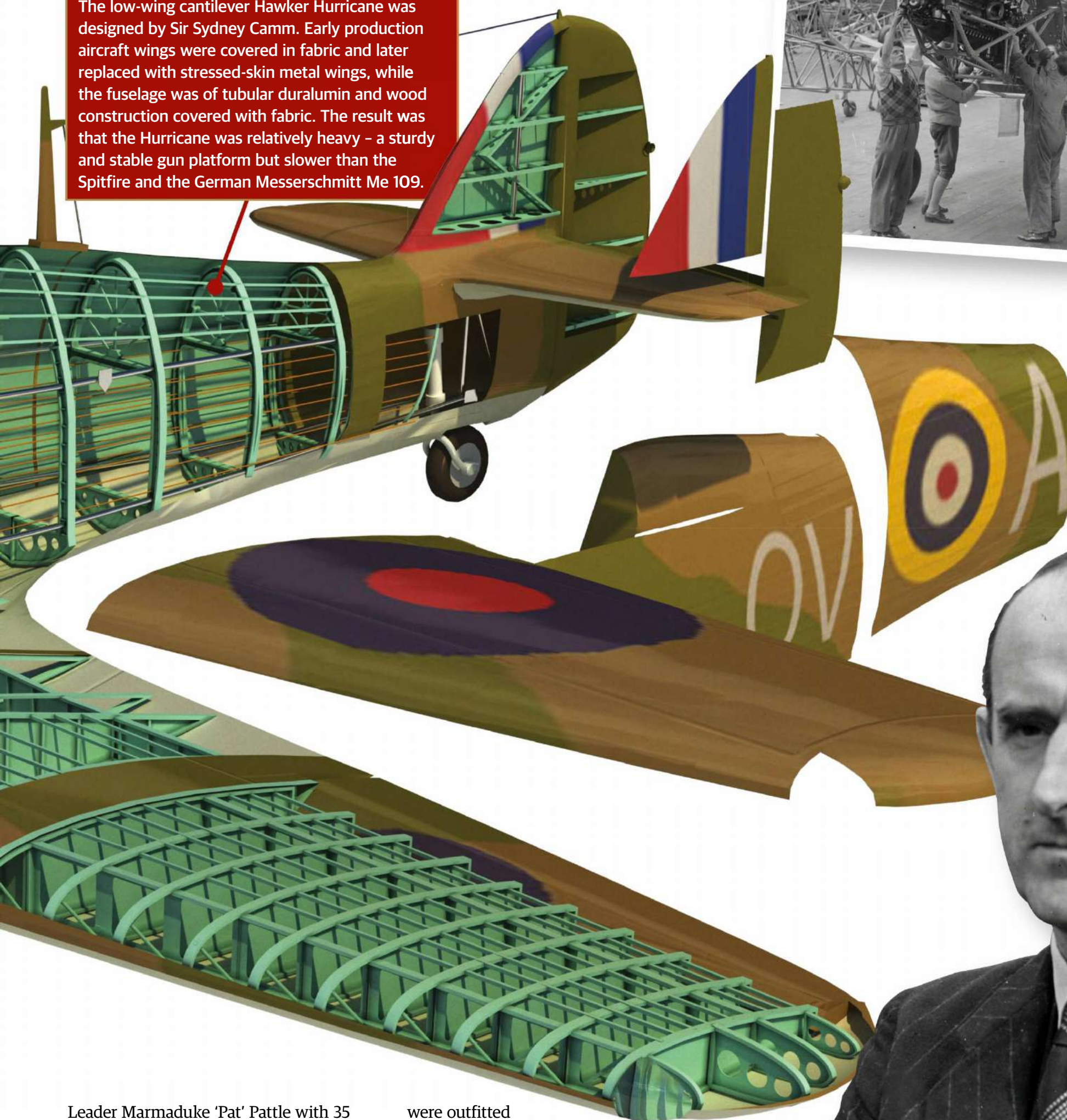
While the Supermarine Spitfire cut a dashing figure over Britain, the Hawker Hurricane might best be described as its not-so-comely stepsister. Nevertheless, the Hurricane held the line during the dark days of the Battle of Britain, shooting down more German aircraft than any other plane in Royal Air Force service. Hurricanes of No. 615 Squadron alone claimed nearly 100 enemy planes. Although less manoeuvrable

than the German Me 109 fighter and considerably slower, the Hurricane could take severe punishment. Superior range also allowed it to remain airborne longer than its adversary. Compensating for the Hurricane's shortcomings as a dogfighter, RAF pilots developed effective tactics: the Hurricanes attacked German bombers, while the more nimble Spitfires tangled with enemy fighters. On 17 August 1940, Flight Lieutenant JB Nicolson of No. 249

Squadron earned the Victoria Cross, shooting down an Me 110 fighter despite grievous wounds and flames streaking from his damaged Hurricane. Wing Commander Robert Stanford Tuck of No. 257 Squadron and Sergeant Josef Frantisek of No. 303 Squadron were leading Hurricane Aces during the Battle of Britain. The highest-scoring Hurricane Ace of World War II was Squadron

DESIGN

The low-wing cantilever Hawker Hurricane was designed by Sir Sydney Camm. Early production aircraft wings were covered in fabric and later replaced with stressed-skin metal wings, while the fuselage was of tubular duralumin and wood construction covered with fabric. The result was that the Hurricane was relatively heavy – a sturdy and stable gun platform but slower than the Spitfire and the German Messerschmitt Me 109.

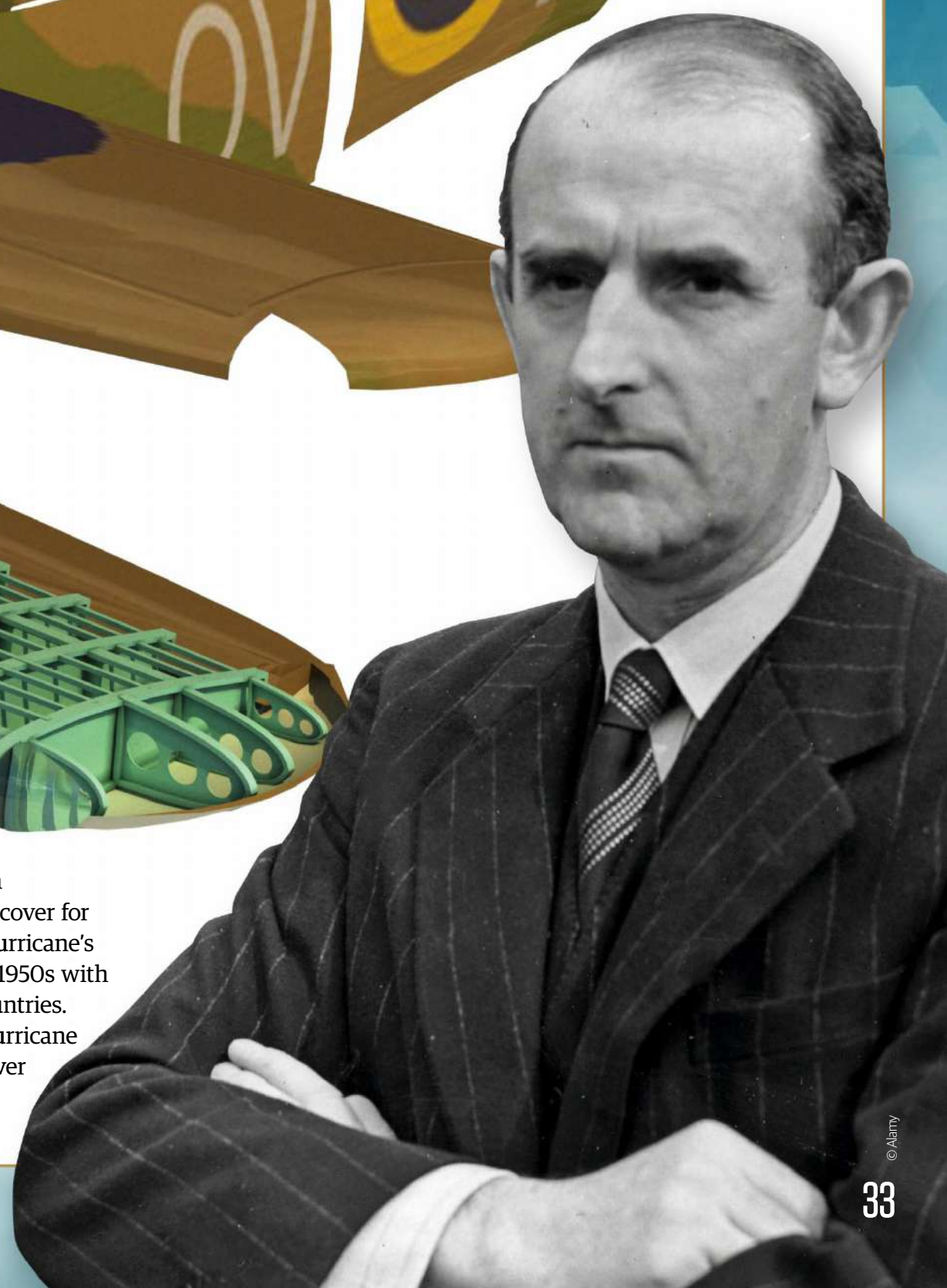


ABOVE A Hawker factory in 1938

BELOW Sir Sydney Camm, the designer of the Hawker Hurricane

Leader Marmaduke 'Pat' Pattle with 35 victories in the Mediterranean. Despite its shortcomings, pilots praised the Hurricane. "It became a good friend right from the start," one related, "and I loved it more and more." In 1941 RAF Squadrons No. 81 and No. 134 flew with the Soviet Red Air Force on the Eastern Front. In the China-Burma-India theatre, Hurricanes of No. 20 Squadron destroyed 13 Japanese tanks in a memorable mission. Hurricanes

were outfitted as night fighters and were also catapulted from merchant ships, providing air cover for trans-Atlantic convoys. The Hurricane's service life stretched into the 1950s with the air forces of at least 25 countries. From 1945 to 1959, a single Hurricane led the annual RAF fly-past over London to commemorate the Battle of Britain. ○





INTERNATIONAL HEROES

Exploring the contribution made by international pilots during the battle

RIGHT Czech pilot Josef František, who scored the most hits during the battle

BELOW
A group of Polish Squadron 303's pilots

Throughout the Battle of Britain Fighter Command, under the leadership of Hugh Dowding, was suffering from a chronic shortage of fighter pilots. This was due to a variety of factors, some reaching back to the earliest phase of the war. During the initial few months, a more rapid expansion of air strength had been required than initially expected. As a result, the training programme that had been designed to keep up a steady output of pilots had already been required to produce more than expected. Secondly, as the result of a particularly bad winter in the months prior to the battle, further training had been severely affected. Finally, nearly 300 fighter pilots had perished in the skies over France.

Because of this, Fighter Command found itself in a constant struggle to provide enough pilots to defend Britain against the Luftwaffe. By early September, each squadron had on average 16 pilots operational out of a full contingent of 26. Many measures were taken to try and combat this problem. It was only due to



the allocation of squadrons comprising a variety of nationalities that Fighter Command was able to keep 60 squadrons flying throughout the battle.

Perhaps the most famous of these international additions to the RAF were the Polish squadrons. Following the

invasion of Poland and then the fall of France, some 30,000 Polish personnel made their way across the Channel. Around 8,500 of these were pilots, and as a result Squadrons 302 (Poznan) and 303 (Kosciuszko) were founded.

Initially a long-standing belief that a lack of skills or significant training on the part of the Polish pilots had led to the Luftwaffe's swift victory caused some tension. Additionally, the language barrier (requiring them to communicate in broken French) and having to be trained on a completely new type of aircraft caused further issues. As a result the squadrons were given tricycles fitted with speedometers, radios and compasses and ordered to ride in formation around the airfield. This caused disquiet, with Pilot Officer Jan Zumbach noting: "The British wasted much of our time with these childish exercises."

On the 12 August, 302 became the first Polish unit cleared for action. Despite initially being part of 12 Group, whose function was to work as relief for 11





ABOVE
303 Squadron Leader Jan Zumbach with another pilot by a Supermarine Spitfire MK VB

Group when necessary, the squadron engaged enemy aircraft on the 20th and distinguished itself. However, despite 302's success, 303 was still engaged exclusively in training manoeuvres and not cleared for action. On 30 August, Squadron 303 was engaged in training manoeuvres when Pilot Ludwik Paszkiewics spotted some enemy aircraft. Contacting his squadron leader but not receiving a response, Paszkiewics broke formation and engaged an enemy plane, shooting it down. Despite

the Polish contribution to the battle by acknowledging the gallantry, skill and bravery of the pilots. "Had it not been for the magnificent work of the Polish squadrons and their unsurpassed gallantry, I doubt the outcome of the battle would have been the same," he said.

However, Polish pilots were not the only non-British nationals to fly alongside the RAF and contribute to victory in the Battle of Britain. Crucially, pilots from many Commonwealth countries

five hits while flying in France. Entitling his autobiography *Nine Lives*, Deere was known for his incredible fortune in cheating death on numerous occasions. In July, he crashed into a cornfield following a collision with an enemy aircraft, walking away with only minor cuts and injuries. A few weeks later he was shot down, but when attempting to bail out he became caught on the burning aircraft and could not free himself as it hurtled to the ground. Miraculously, and with moments to spare, he was blown clear and was able to open his parachute just in time.

Many other Commonwealth countries had pilots take part in the battle. Among them some 98 Canadians, 33 Australians and 25 South Africans participated. Alongside these, three Rhodesians, a Newfoundlander, a Barbadian and a Jamaican were also among the many air crew. There was also a variety of exiles from other parts of Europe: 88 Czechoslovakians, 13 Frenchmen and 29 Belgians. In fact, the most successful RAF pilot was Sergeant Josef František - a Czechoslovakian flying with 303 Squadron who achieved 17 hits, the highest of the battle. ○

"HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR THE POLISH SQUADRONS, I DOUBT THE OUTCOME OF THE BATTLE WOULD HAVE BEEN THE SAME"

being reprimanded, Squadron 303 was quickly cleared for action. The moment was later immortalised in the 'Repeat Please' sequence in the 1969 film *Battle Of Britain*.

The result was that of all the units in the Battle of Britain, Squadron 303 would be the one to distinguish itself with the most hits during its entire duration. Indeed, directly following the battle on 7 September (the first day of the Blitz) they would have the extraordinary achievement of shooting down 14 enemy planes, with an additional four probable kills. Commander in Chief of Air Command, Air Chief Marshal Hugh Dowding, summarised

also participated. Most notably, 135 New Zealanders joined the fight. Among this number was Colin Gray, who destroyed 14 planes during the battle and would finish the war with 27 confirmed hits and 22 probables. Indeed, Keith Park, the commander of 11 Group Fighter Command and responsible for some of the hour-by-hour conduct of the battle, was himself a New Zealander.

One incredibly lucky New Zealand pilot was Alan Deere, an Ace who had already scored

BELOW
New Zealand pilot Alan Deere





PAUL FARNES: FIGHTER ACE

Having sadly passed away in January 2020, we take a look back at our last interview with one of the Battle of Britain's great pilots

Interview by Tom Garner

Paul Farnes was one of the last survivors of The Few and his death in January, followed in May by Terry Clark, leaves John 'Paddy' Hemingway as the final survivor. We spoke to Farnes in 2017 and he shared his experiences of what it was like to participate in that fateful battle.

Born on 16 July 1918, Farnes joined the Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve aged 19 in April 1938. It was fortuitous timing: "Germany was becoming a bit of a nuisance and I think everyone was getting a bit jittery, so I was glad to be in the services." At this time the British government decided that VRs could do six months in the regular RAF and Farnes went to south Wales in July 1939. "It was great fun but before I'd finished my six months, war had broken out. I found myself in the air force and ready for war."

During the Battle of Britain, Farnes was part of 11 Group and on the front line defending London and south-east England. His airborne drill was well rehearsed: "You were given instructions as a squadron by controllers as to whether we were at 'Readiness', 'Availability' or 'Standby' and we had various conditions. With 'Available', we had to be able to get airborne in 15-20 minutes. Then you had 'Readiness', where you had to be up within a few minutes, or there was 'Standby', where you'd be strapped in the cockpit ready to take off."

Compared to the efficiency on the ground, aerial combat was anarchy. "You took off as a squadron but if you met the enemy you broke up. Once you found the enemy and got stuck into him, you were trying to shoot at the bombers and probably trying to keep an eye open to see where the 109s were coming down, which they usually were. It was a free for all. There wasn't a regimented thing when you got in a certain position. You just broke up and whipped into the aircraft, trying to find something to shoot at. You'd give them a burst and then break away and you'd be constantly looking."

The average age of an RAF pilot during the Battle of Britain was just 20. At 21, Farnes was slightly more experienced, and this contributed to his survival. "I was fairly experienced compared to a lot of the chaps. I'd had good training and had flown the Hurricane for quite a few hours before the battle, whereas a lot of the new young pilots had only got about two or three hours. It was useless, you really had to have flown a Hurricane for a few hours to get used to it."

Farnes would occasionally encounter German pilots in remarkable circumstances. He remembers: "My RT or oxygen didn't work properly once, so I had to return to base. I lost height, came down to about 450 metres and headed back towards Kenley. I was flying along a railway line and suddenly coming towards me was a Ju 88 German aircraft. I thought 'Good God!' so I whipped out, repositioned myself and managed to get behind him. I gave him a couple of bursts and he crashed at Gatwick, just on the point between the airport and the racecourse." Farnes landed and came face to face with the enemy,



ABOVE Sergeant Paul Farnes (seated second from left) with a group of fellow pilots

BELOW-RIGHT A formation of Hurricanes leads Spitfires in a display for factory workers following the battle

"The station commander took me over to meet the pilot. I went to shake hands with him but he wouldn't shake hands. It was a natural thing to do as far as I was concerned but he wasn't interested. One of the gunners was alright but the other was killed. It was particularly poignant for me because I did all my training at Gatwick so it was quite a thing to feel that I shot down an aircraft that crashed there."



On another occasion, Farnes had an encounter with a German pilot in mid-air. "I'd shot down a 109 and the pilot bailed out. I watched him coming down and the parachute opened. I waved to him and got a wave back!"

As for his own aircraft, Farnes highly regards the Hurricane. "It was marvellous. It's a pity that the Spitfire always gets all the credit, although I can understand it to some extent. People will ask, 'What did you fly?' and you say 'a Hurricane' and they will reply, 'Oh... did you fly Spitfires?' I did fly Spitfires, but not during the Battle of Britain." Although it's less famous than the Spitfire, Farnes knew the Hurricane's virtues: "The Hurricane did

camaraderie between everybody. We were all helping each other."

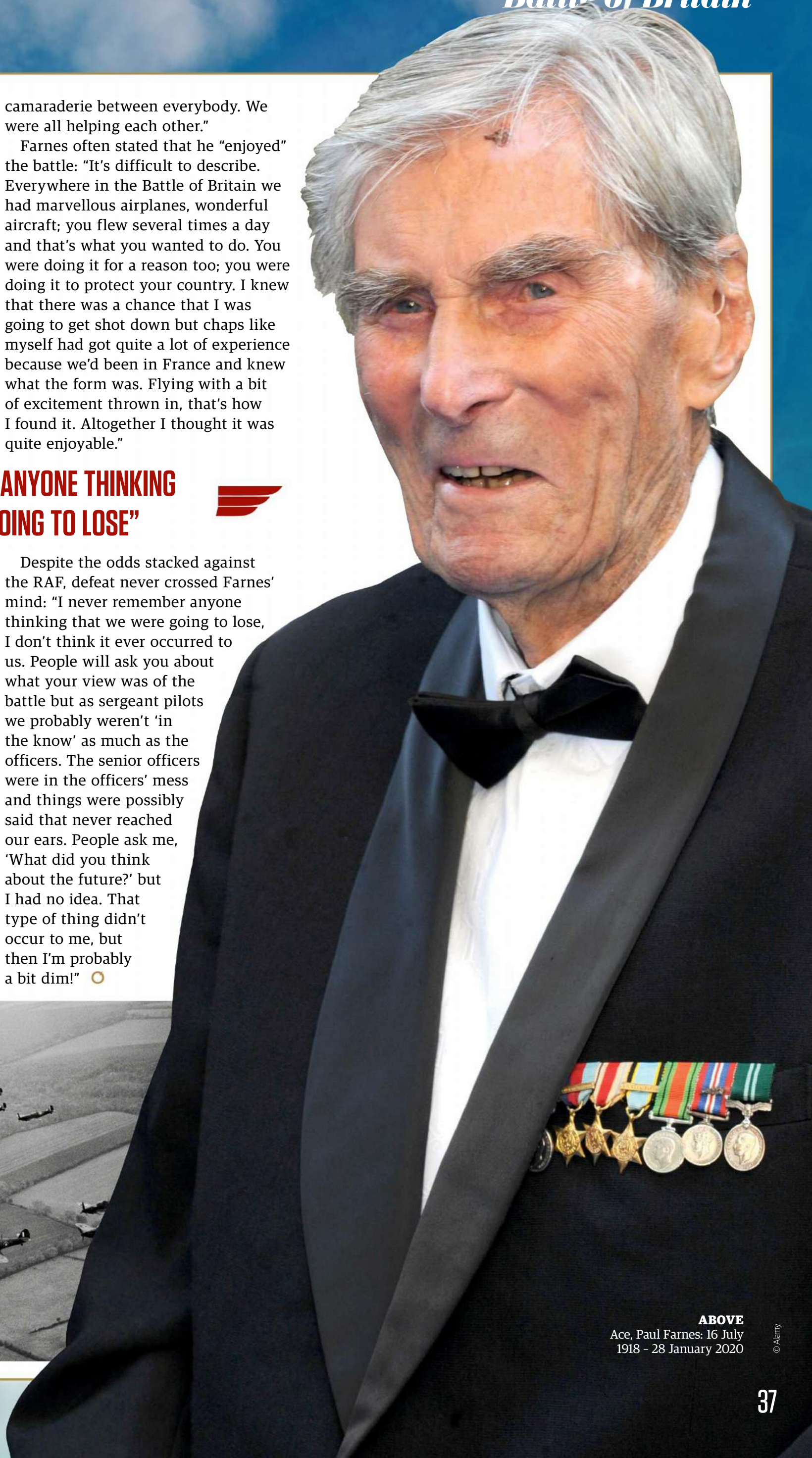
Farnes often stated that he "enjoyed" the battle: "It's difficult to describe. Everywhere in the Battle of Britain we had marvellous airplanes, wonderful aircraft; you flew several times a day and that's what you wanted to do. You were doing it for a reason too; you were doing it to protect your country. I knew that there was a chance that I was going to get shot down but chaps like myself had got quite a lot of experience because we'd been in France and knew what the form was. Flying with a bit of excitement thrown in, that's how I found it. Altogether I thought it was quite enjoyable."

"I NEVER REMEMBER ANYONE THINKING THAT WE WERE GOING TO LOSE"

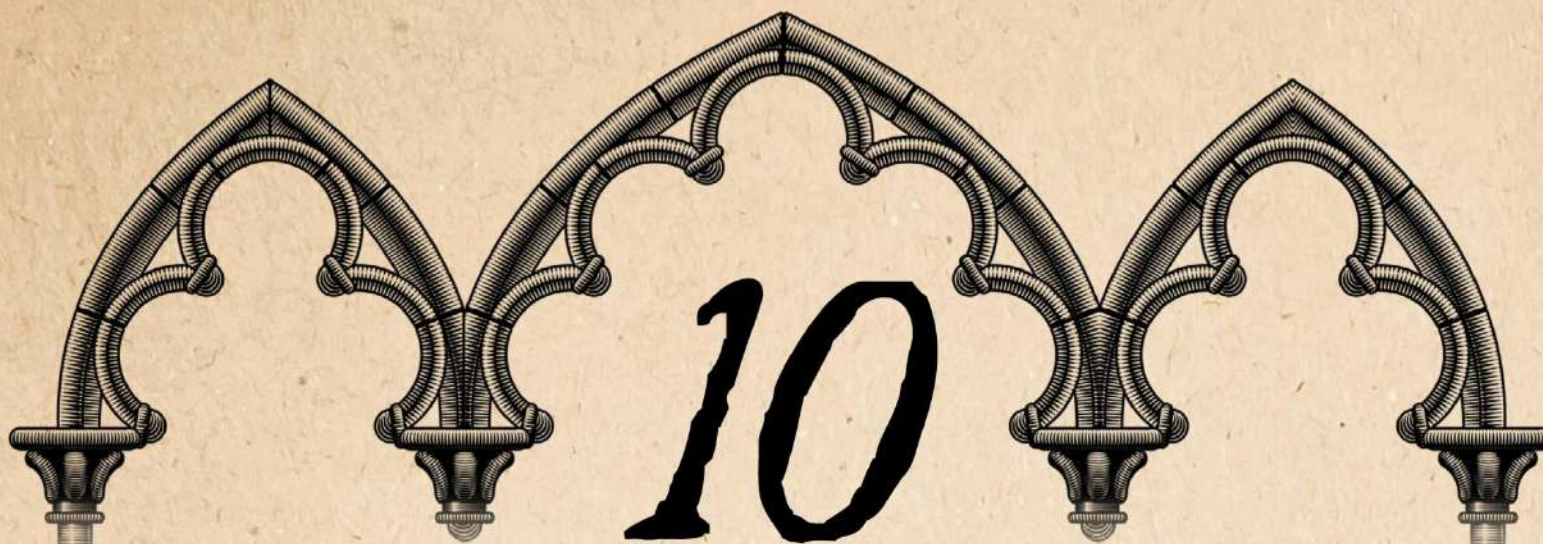
all the work and it shot down far more aircraft than the Spitfires. It was a very good aircraft and would take an awful lot more punishment. It was a wooden aircraft really: the framework was wood and canvas whereas the Spitfire was all-metal. I can understand that the Spitfire got a name: it was faster, probably a more beautiful aircraft and wonderful for aerobatics, but if you flew Hurricanes you were happy."

Farnes and his fellow pilots were also given support from the WAAFs, even outside their regular duties: "There were two sergeant WAAFs who used to come in and they'd make us hot tea with sugar, and they'd also give us toast with beef dripping. That was lovely and it was completely voluntary. They just did it out of the goodness of their hearts; they didn't have to. That's sort of the thing that went on, that

Despite the odds stacked against the RAF, defeat never crossed Farnes' mind: "I never remember anyone thinking that we were going to lose, I don't think it ever occurred to us. People will ask you about what your view was of the battle but as sergeant pilots we probably weren't 'in the know' as much as the officers. The senior officers were in the officers' mess and things were possibly said that never reached our ears. People ask me, 'What did you think about the future?' but I had no idea. That type of thing didn't occur to me, but then I'm probably a bit dim!"



ABOVE
Ace, Paul Farnes: 16 July
1918 - 28 January 2020



10

MEDIEVAL

INVENTIONS THAT CHANGED THE WORLD

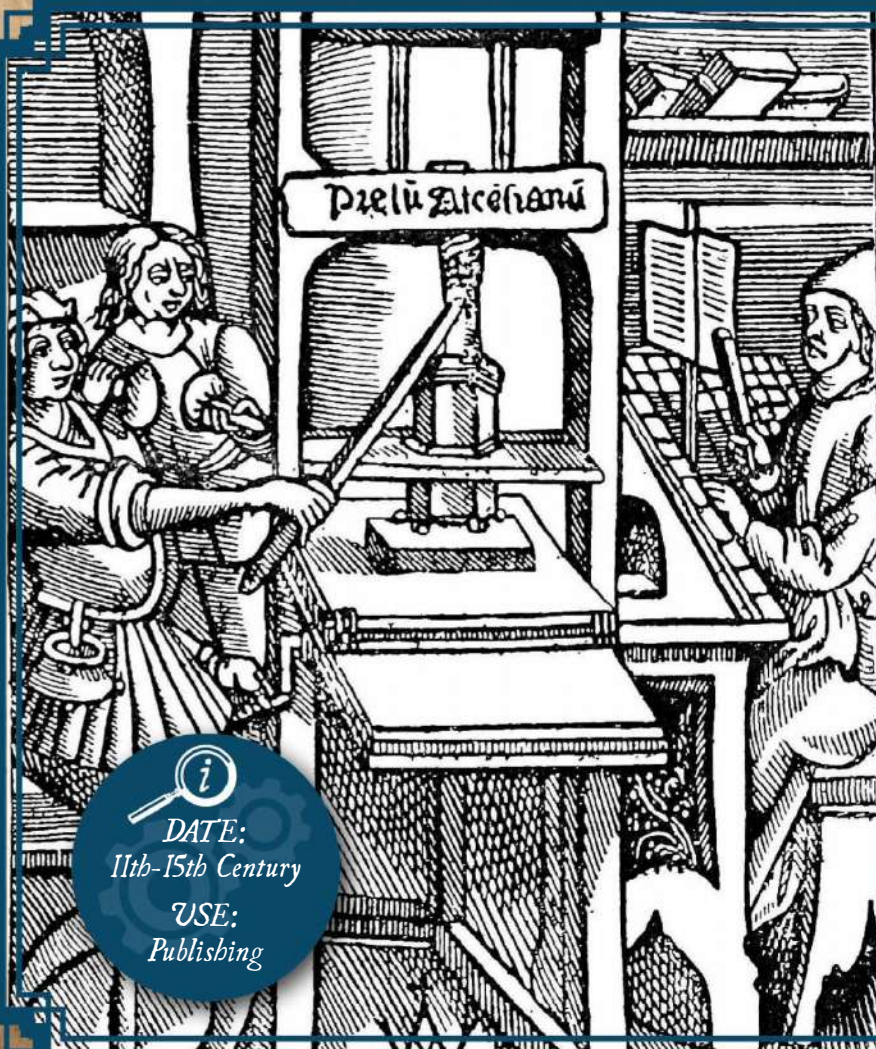
There's much we still owe to the so-called Middle Ages

Written by Jonathan Gordon

The history of invention is a challenging field, not least because it's a topic that knows no borders or strict time frames. Innovation and inspiration are boundless through human history, which makes it

rather daunting. This might give some explanation as to why our main focus of attention when it comes to great inventions tends to lean towards the Renaissance or Industrial Revolution, but the medieval

era was not short of groundbreaking ideas. As we'll explore here, important scientific leaps and popular new products were invented in this era, some of which remain important to this day.



THE PRINTING PRESS

Mastered in Korea, excelling in Europe

At least 200 years before Johannes Gutenberg brought the idea of mass production of printed text to Europe with his Gutenberg Bible, the moveable type printing press was already in use in Korea. However, this doesn't necessarily negate the importance of Gutenberg's contribution; merely recontextualises it.

In fact the technology may in fact date back to 11th century China, although the use of printing presses with interchangeable text blocks appears to have been perfected in Korea around 1230. Before this, in Asia as in Europe, books were handwritten to be copied, but religious officials and then the Korean government saw the efficiency of printing en masse instead.

In 1440 Mainz, Germany, Gutenberg applied similar technology to mass produce books for the general public. Freeing up access to knowledge in a cheap and efficient way was a game changer and precipitated the Reformation and Renaissance to come.



DATE:
11th-15th Century
USE:
Publishing

THE CAMSHAFT

The beginnings of robotics and modern machinery

One of the greatest minds of the medieval world was Ismail al-Jazari, a Muslim inventor in Mesopotamia, who can be credited with some of the earliest surviving examples of robotics. His automata designs, often rather amusing mechanisms involving animals with moving limbs, were a marvel of their age and would greatly influence Leonardo da Vinci in later years.

One of the most important elements of his designs, however, was the humble camshaft. Now a staple of mechanical design, the way the camshaft converted rotational movement into additional movement with offset cams pressing on pins was game-changing. The mechanism of motors driving wheels in modern vehicles is dependent on this technology.

DATE:
13th Century
USE:
Machinery

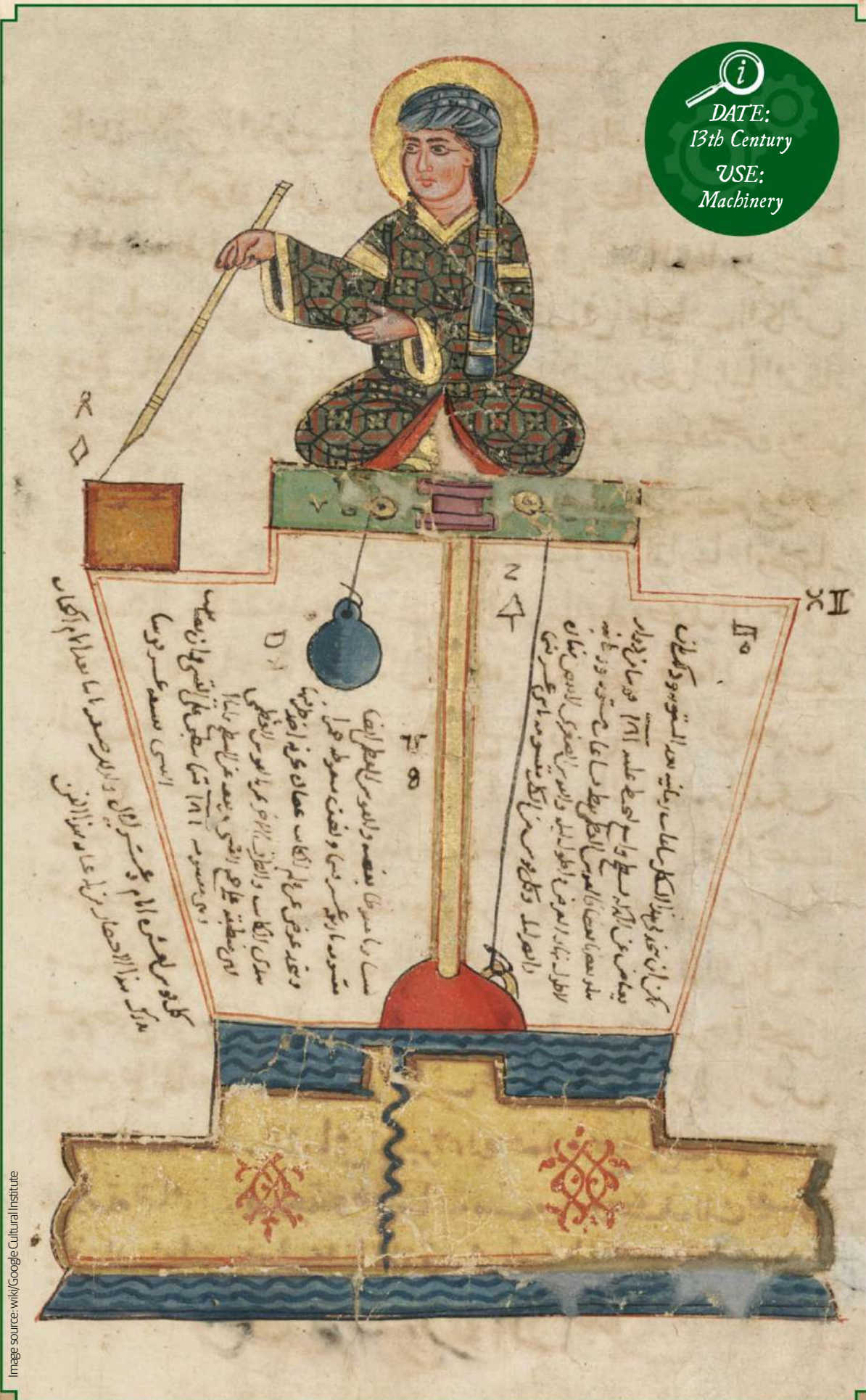


Image source: wiki/Google Cultural Institute

PAPER MONEY

The beginning of a new form of finance

Evolving from the use of coinage and then promissory notes for traders along the Silk Road to save them hauling their fortunes across vast distances, paper money first came into use during the Song Dynasty in China. The money, called jiaozi, came about as the government took over the financial system that it had licensed to hold coins in exchange for notes.

The art of paper money was gradually refined in this time, from varied paper qualities and uses of inks to distinguish regional currencies (they could only be used in limited locations) to a single, universal currency that was backed by stocks of silver and gold. From 1279 and the Mongol Yuan Dynasty further alterations were made with their introduction of the chao. Since it was not backed by gold or silver, massive inflation followed, but the innovation still impressed Marco Polo and made its way to Persia.

DATE:
11th Century
USE:
Trade, Economy

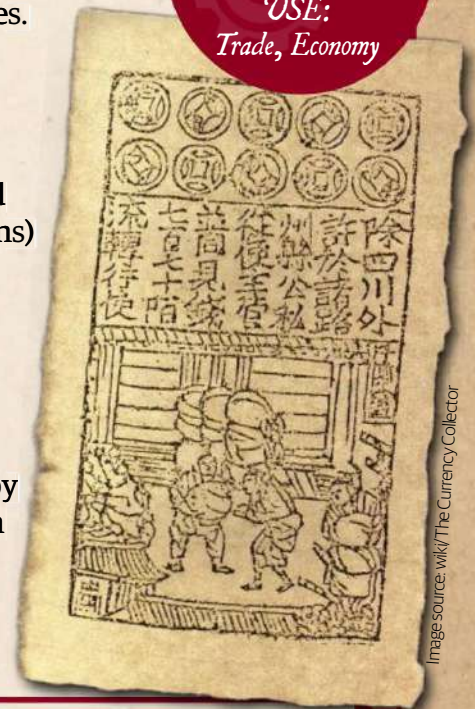


Image source: wiki/The Currency Collector

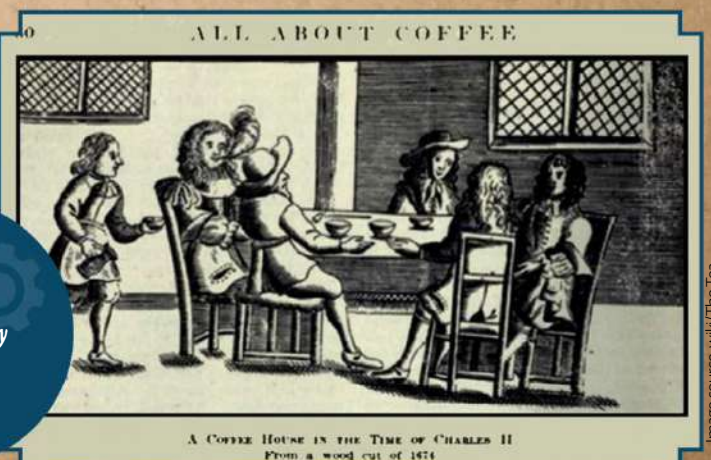
COFFEE

A new drink and a new culture

The exact timing and origin of coffee bean cultivation is greatly disputed, but we can say with some confidence that by the 15th century coffee beans were being grown and roasted for the production of coffee in the Yemeni region of Arabia. From there it would spread to Egypt, Syria and Turkey and eventually to Europe.

First though it took root in the Near East where the stimulating brew became a popular alternative to alcohol (although religious leaders did try to prohibit it as an intoxicant and therefore forbidden in the Quran, just like alcohol). The secondary offshoot of coffee drinking became the spread of qahveh khanehs (coffeehouses) where men would meet to play games like chess and backgammon as well as discuss politics, smoke and listen to music. A whole new subculture and formed around these 'schools of wisdom' that would also spread to Europe in the years that followed.

DATE:
15th Century
USE:
Beverage



A COFFEE HOUSE IN THE TIME OF CHARLES II
From a wood cut of 1674

Image source: wiki/The Tea And Coffee Trade Journal

SPINNING WHEEL

Early mechanisation of home industry

Before the advent of the spinning wheel, the conversion of plant and animal fibres into a thread that could then be turned into a fabric was all done by hand. What the spinning wheel did was add some mechanisation to this action, spinning the stick onto which the fibres were gathered into a thread. While the whole technique still required a great deal of human input, it sped up and simplified the process of producing thread. The how and why are easier to answer than the when or where, however. India or China were the origin points and then the wheel made its way to Europe from India. By the 14th century the Chinese had already developed a water-powered version of the spinning wheel.



DATE:
14th Century

USE:
Textiles production



STERN-MOUNTED RUDDERS

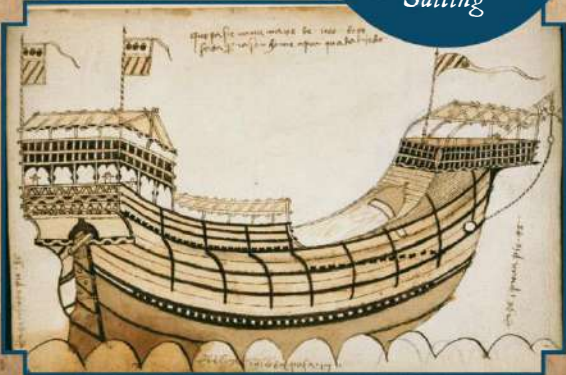
The start of a globalised world

Although originally invented by the Ancient Chinese, the combination of the centrally aligned rudder onto large sailing vessels in the Baltic and then in the Mediterranean began to open up the world to new lines of trade and communication (as well as colonisation, of course). The move from steering oars, which had been the preferred means of steering larger vessels, to the rudder meant a more efficient and easy to turn ship, that in turn made taking a large vessel out to sea and across large distances a little more manageable. Combined with improved forms of navigation, the rudder opened the door to the age of discovery.



DATE:
14th Century

USE:
Sailing



THE HEAVY PLOUGH

The beginnings of mass production

What does the introduction of a new form of plough have to do with growing urbanisation? It's quite simple really, especially for northern and central Europe where this new technology had a massive

impact. The heavy plough or mouldboard plough was a massive boon for the heavier or clay-based soils of this region, which up until that point had relied on the ard or scratch-plough. That had been great for the lighter soils of the Mediterranean, but limited options elsewhere.

By cutting deep furrows into the earth, the heavy plough improved crop productivity and ushered in a reliance on field animals like horses and oxen. Specialisation and skilled work became even more important as a result of this, leading to changes in the economy and society.



DATE:
10th Century

USE:
Farming



MECHANICAL CLOCKS

Measuring the passage of time

While the exact date at which the mechanical clock was devised is unclear, we can trace back most of technology to at least the mid-1200s and the first known mechanical clock towards the end of that century. Up until that point the passage of time had been measured through sundials or the use of water clocks that allowed flowing water to control the speed of a clock mechanism.

The mechanical clock likely started out no more accurate than these, but it introduced what's called an escapement of a verge and foliot, which meant that accuracy was something that could be improved in the coming years and decades. With the weighted foliot oscillating back and forth on the verge that then turned the dial, subtle control over this movement meant more accurate time-keeping than the world had ever seen before.

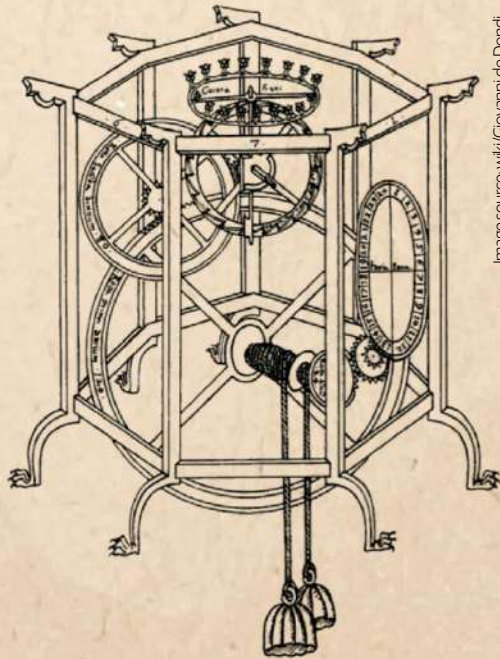


Image source: wiki/Giovanni de Dondi

DATE:
13th Century
USE:
Time keeping



Image source: wiki/NASA



Image source: wiki/Wujing Zongyao

DATE:
10th Century
USE: Entertainment,
Demolition,
Firearms

GUNPOWDER

An explosive new discovery

The combination of sulfur, charcoal, and saltpeter (potassium nitrate) to form an explosive, a mixture now referred to as black powder, was an incredibly important milestone for humanity. This relatively simple and stable explosive mixture might be best known for its use in weapons and fireworks, but it also offered new means of mining for resources, which was a massive time- and energy-saving innovation.

The formula originates in China where the mixture was first used for setting fires and later found to be an effective propellant. When placed in a tight space, such as a bamboo cylinder, the explosive release of gasses made it perfect for firing objects or launching them, such as with fireworks. The impact of this technology on the world of weaponry is well known to us now.

THE ASTROLABE

Mapping the stars to navigate the Earth

The original astrolabes were made by the Ancient Greeks, but it was during the Islamic Golden Age that they were adapted to new tasks, including navigation. Using dials to set a time and date and by locating celestial objects, the astrolabe was like a manual computer that could then output important information like

longitude and latitude, when the sun would rise or set or simply the time of day.

As the new astrolabe was exported back to Europe there were continued developments, such as the spherical astrolabe and then even a geared and mechanical variant. It would go on to be hugely influential during the Renaissance.

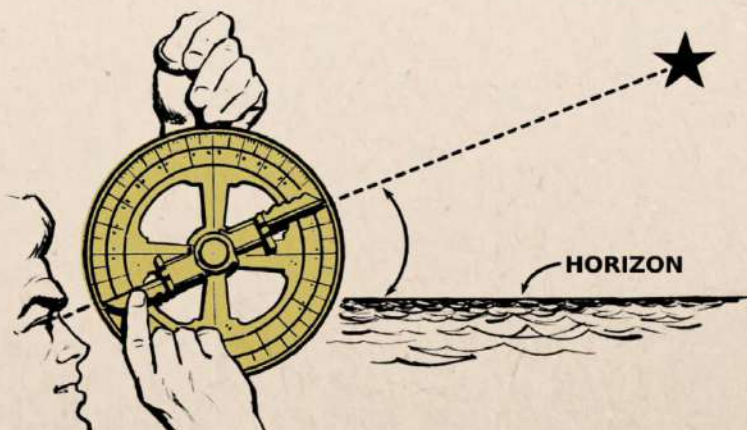


Image source: wiki/Pearson Scott Foresman

DATE:
8th Century
USE:
Navigation



Image source: wiki/Metropolitan Museum of Art

“IT SUITED SOCIETY FOR THEM TO BE BAD WOMEN”



*Historian Hallie Rubenhold discusses her book *The Five* and her mission to give Jack the Ripper's victims the dignity that they deserve*

Written by Jessica Leggett

Can you name all five victims of Jack the Ripper? If you can't then you are not alone. Ever since Mary Ann 'Polly' Nichols, Annie Chapman, Elisabeth Stride, Catherine Eddowes and Mary Jane Kelly were murdered in cold blood over 130 years ago, the identity of their killer has continued to fascinate the world, his legacy has been glamorised in books, songs, films and television, while his victims have been forgotten. We spoke to historian Hallie Rubenhold about her latest book *The Five* and how she has upended the Jack the Ripper narrative, restoring his victims to their rightful place in their own stories.

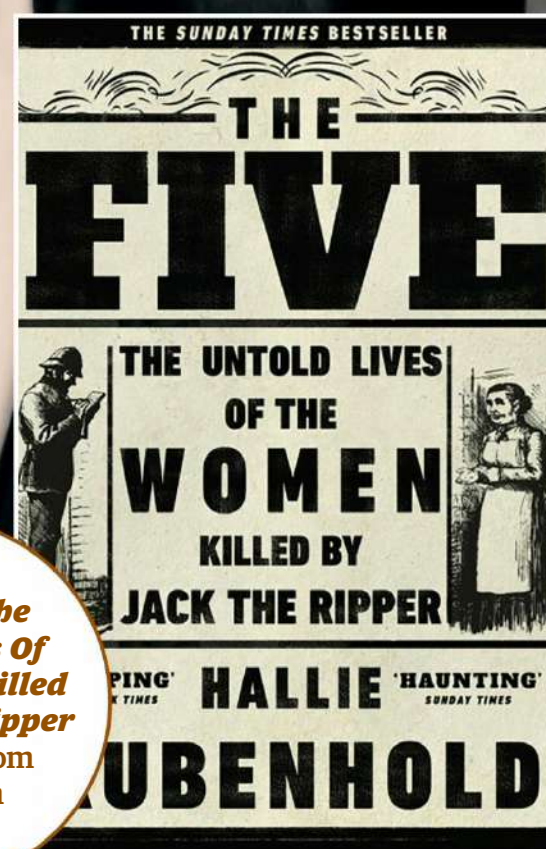
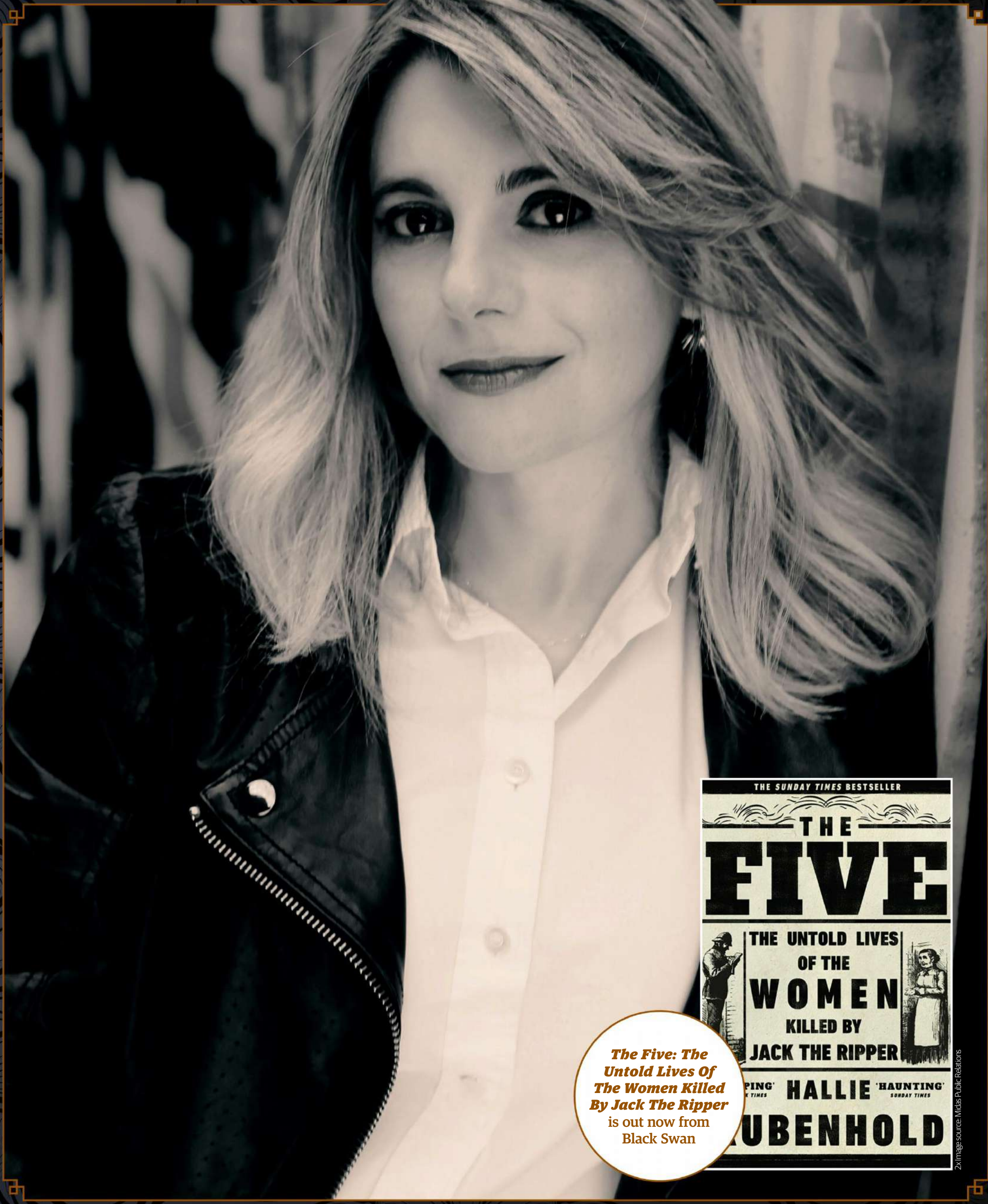
What inspired you to write *The Five*? Have you always had an interest in these women or did you come across something that made you want to tell their stories?

I was looking for another subject to write a non-fiction book about and I thought back to my first non-fiction book called *The Covent Garden Ladies*, which was about *Harris's List Of Covent Garden Ladies*, a bestselling annual guidebook of prostitutes in the 18th

century. It gave short biographies of these women's lives and their sexual specialities, but also descriptions of who they were and where they came from, and I wrote about their lives. I wanted to do this for the 19th century and find some hidden lives of Victorian women, poor women, women who've been written out of history, and tell their stories. I was looking, much like with *Covent Garden Ladies*, for sex workers and I thought, who were the best-known sex workers of the 19th century and in London? Well, that'll be the victims of Jack the Ripper. I soon realised that there had been no full-length book written about these five women looking at their lives collectively. Probably the five most famous murder victims and most people wouldn't know their names. I was so shocked by this I thought I absolutely had to write this story. It's a gross injustice that everybody knows who Jack the Ripper is but nobody knows anything about the women he killed.

How did you do your research and what sources did you use?

First, I looked at the existing literature and in most books about Jack the Ripper there's very little good research. They're not



The Five: The Untold Lives Of The Women Killed By Jack The Ripper
is out now from
Black Swan

2x image source: Midas Public Relations

written by historians and people who really understand the sources or how to evaluate them. I quickly noticed that a lot of these books weren't even footnoted and that they relied on what somebody else's book had said – somebody who wrote it in the 1960s, it becomes gospel and it's repeated enough times that it becomes what they think of as a fact. I had to reinvent the wheel, go back and trace where a lot of quotes came from about these women's lives and almost everything that was used came from 19th century newspaper reports. Well, newspaper reports can tell us some things but certainly not everything, especially if the reports come from the five inquests into these women's deaths.

Independently, after each of these five were killed, an inquest was held to look into the cause of death because no perpetrator had been found. A coroner's inquest is a bit like a trial, so witnesses would talk about the circumstances of death, who the murder victims were and what was seen and heard prior to the murder. But what really shocked me as a historian was that when I looked in the police files for

these women that were held in the public records office, often the only thing in them were newspaper reports. All the inquest documents are missing, except for the last two victims, Catherine Eddowes and Mary Jane Kelly. So, in terms of the material, it was all from what journalists heard in the courtroom. Now, you lay

out ten different newspapers who all report a quote in ten different ways, and some directly contradict one another. You deconstruct that and realise that we don't have a definitive source and we don't know what was said. You have to get through all the shale, hearsay and everything at the top, which is all unstable and has been repeated within this canon of Jack the Ripper. You have to get down into the base level, which is the sources, and piece together bit by bit the lives that were lived and then contextualise them with the lives of

other Victorian women of their class who were living in the same place, at the same time, under the same circumstances.

What can you tell us about the lives of these women? Did you discover anything that wasn't known previously?

Oh my gosh, lots and lots! For example, Annie Chapman was in one of the first women's rehabilitation centres for alcoholism in the early 1880s and I found the record books for that in a Protestant convent in Wantage, Oxfordshire. So that was quite amazing. With the help of a Swedish-speaker who lives in Gothenburg, I found some interesting stuff about Elisabeth Stride in the records that she was treated for syphilis and that she emigrated to the UK. We knew that but the circumstances surrounding that, that she may have had a relationship with her employer in London when she worked here, we didn't know. I've found out new information about all of the women, even if it was just contextualising it.

We know the least about Mary Jane Kelly because that was almost certainly not her name, as she doesn't appear in any of the records and it's impossible to trace her. She was the only known career sex worker and she worked in the West End, so she wasn't born in Whitechapel into poverty. But the interesting thing about it, nobody has contextualised what was said about her by the people who knew her, like that she had a good education, she was an artist and she held herself very well. All of these are little indicators of somebody who had received at least a middle-class education. If you know about women's lives and their experiences in the 19th century, you can't miss that – things like art lessons that are only available to girls who went to middle-class schools or above. If you were a poor working-class girl, you wouldn't have learned to be an artist or even had the means, the time and the paper available to learn that. So the added context tells us new things as well.

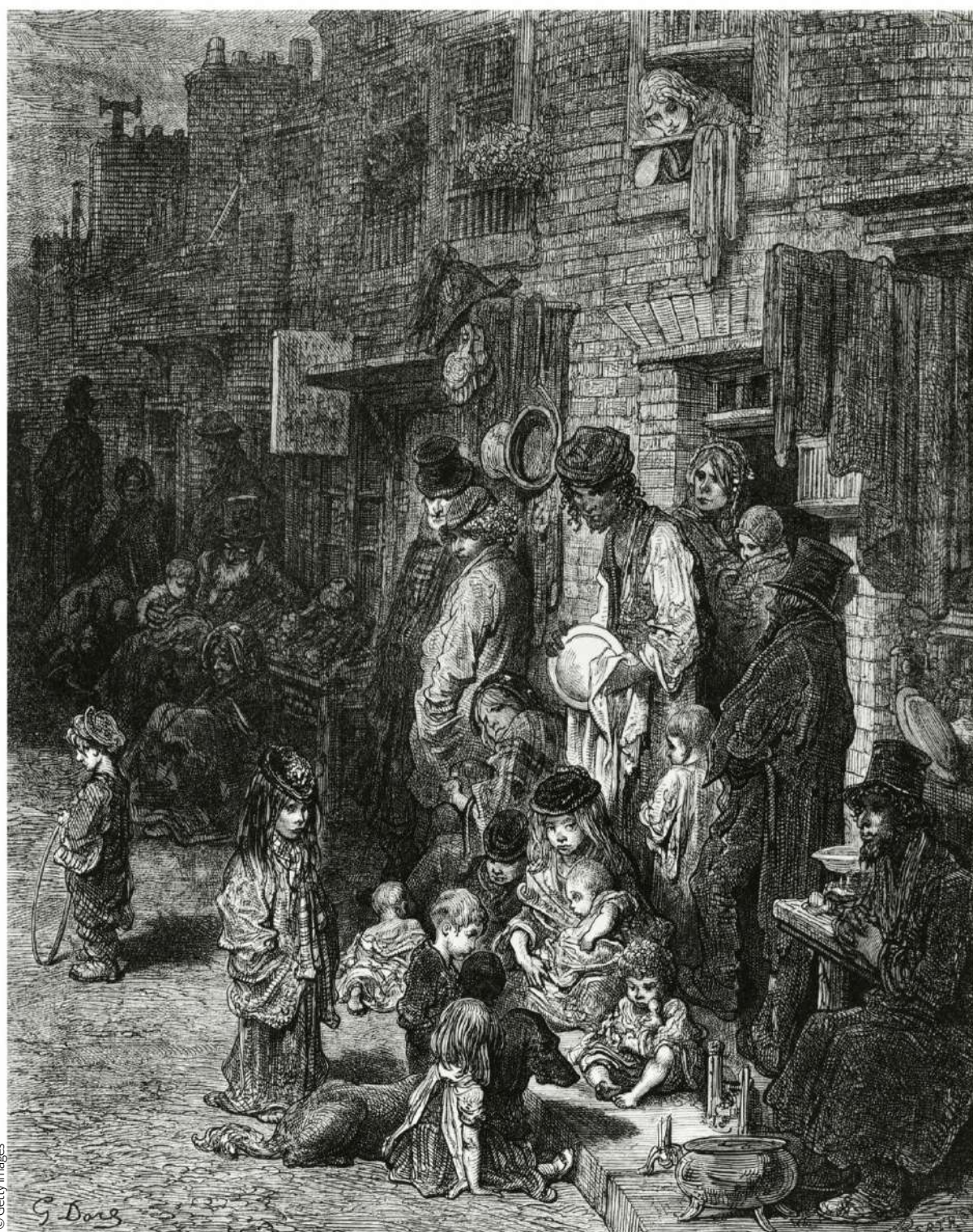
All five of these women were identified as prostitutes at the time. How did this affect the way their murders were portrayed in the media?

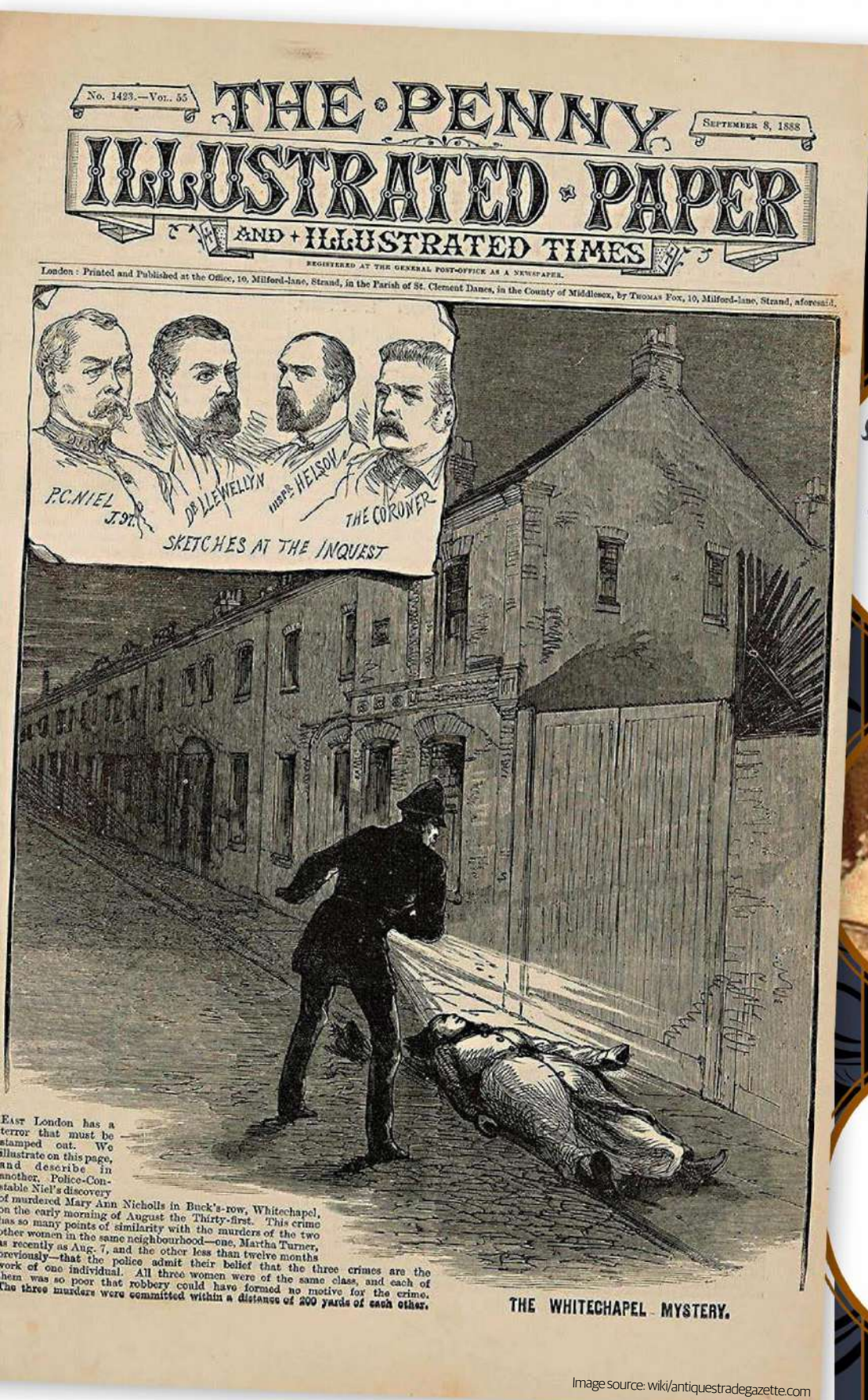
It was a combination of pity, obviously, and quite a lot of fear. How it was discussed and regarded was that this is what happens to bad women, if you're a woman who doesn't follow the prescribed path for women, who doesn't have a house, who isn't part of the household, who doesn't live under a man's roof, who drinks, who is 'defective', this is what happens to you. It suited society

"It's a gross injustice that everybody knows who Jack the Ripper is but nobody knows anything about the women he killed"

OPPOSITE The Penny Illustrated Paper was one of the newspapers that followed the murders

BELOW The district of Whitechapel was home to some of London's most impoverished slums





for them to be bad women - society couldn't conceive of them in any other way because women's roles were so circumscribed. A woman had to be a wife and a mother or a carer, a woman had to live under a man's roof, a woman had to be looked after, if that was her role, and if she did anything other than that she was a 'defective' woman.

Was there anything you learned about the five women that really struck you?

Yes - how different all of their stories were! When I've spoken to groups, I've asked them to tell me one fact about Jack the Ripper and most people will say that he killed prostitutes. That's really interesting. You tend to think all these women were young women but they weren't - four of the five women were in their 40s when they were killed. None of them came from the East End and they all came from different places. Elisabeth Stride was from Sweden, Mary Jane Kelly was from Wales, Catherine Eddowes was from Wolverhampton, Annie Chapman grew up in between Knightsbridge and Windsor and was living on a country estate before she separated from her husband. So all of these things are surprising because the collective cultural understanding of Jack the Ripper is almost the Hollywood version of the story.

Uncovering The Five

Who were the women killed by the Ripper?

Mary Ann 'Polly' Nichols

Polly was born in London in 1845, the daughter of a blacksmith. Her mother died when she was young and she assumed the domestic duties of her family home. She married her husband, William, when she was 18 and they had five children but she left him after he was unfaithful. When her body was discovered, Polly had two petticoats with 'Lambeth Workhouse' labelled on the bands, where she had lived intermittently in the final years of her life.



Annie Chapman

Born in London in 1840, Annie married John Chapman, a gentleman's coachman and they lived in Windsor with their three children. She struggled with alcoholism and, along with her husband, drank heavily after the loss of their eldest daughter to meningitis. She separated from John in 1884 and to earn money did crochet work and sold matches and flowers. A small-toothed comb and a scrap containing two pills were among the items recovered from her body.



Elisabeth Stride

Elisabeth, the daughter of a farmer, was born in Sweden, 1843. In 1866, she moved to London and began working for a wealthy family. In 1869 she married John Thomas Stride, a carpenter, and they ran coffee houses together, but they eventually separated. She took on sewing work to earn extra money, and when her body was discovered a thimble and a piece of wool wrapped around a card were found among the possessions she was carrying.



Catherine Eddowes

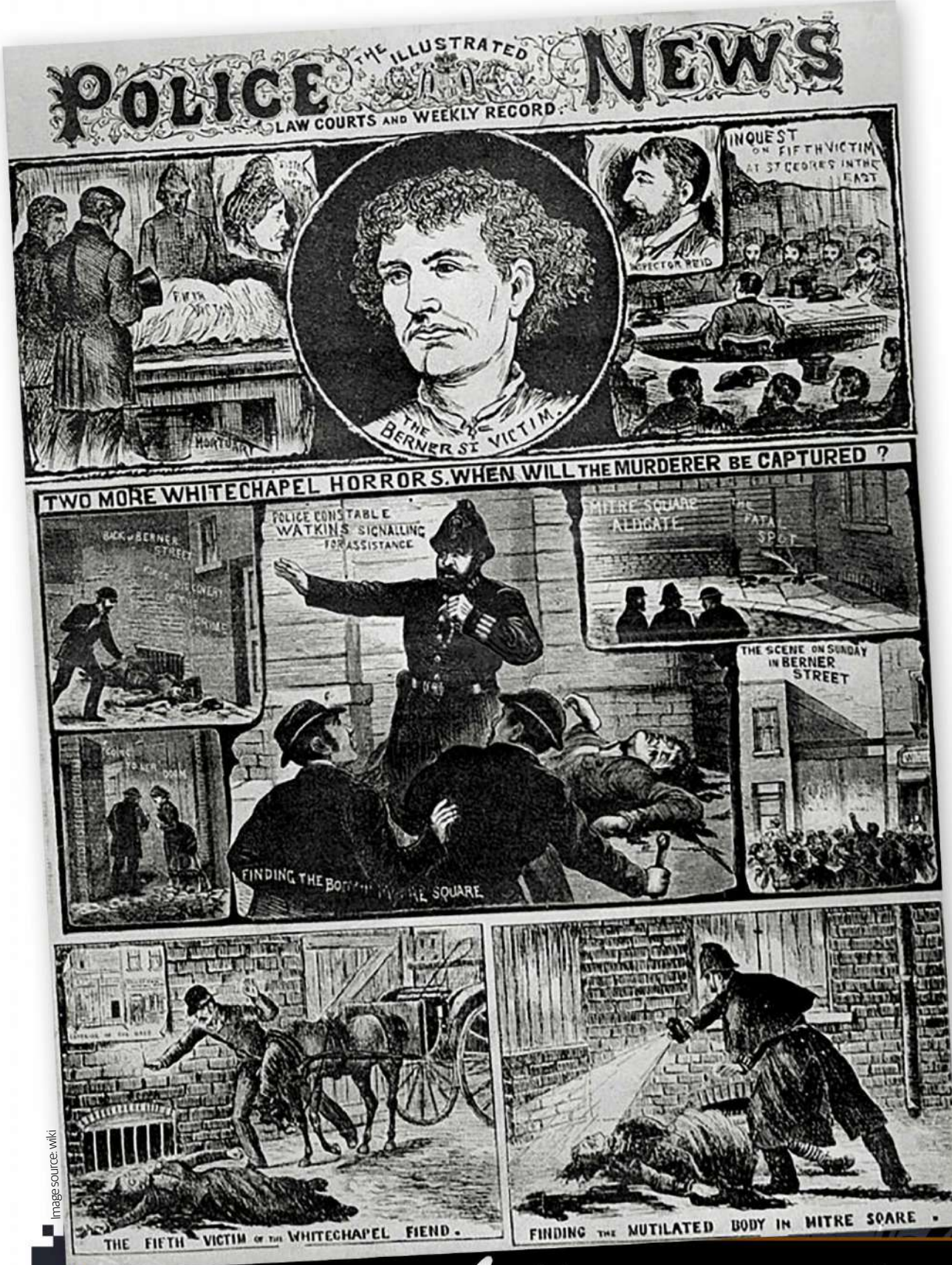
Born in Wolverhampton in 1842, Catherine moved to London when she was 25 with her common-law partner Thomas Conway, with whom she had three children. By 1880, she had a new common-law partner, John Kelly, and she was sleeping in lodging houses when she could afford it, or sleeping rough. Catherine had many items on her when her body was discovered, including a tin of tea and a tin of sugar, as well as a mustard tin with two pawn shop tickets.



Mary Jane Kelly

The details of Mary Jane Kelly's life are difficult to confirm, considering that she told stories about herself that were a mixture of both truths and lies. Born around 1863, Mary Jane was a professional sex worker in the West End before she moved to the East End. She was the only victim murdered in her own bed and so no inventory was done of her possessions because she was only wearing a chemise.





"What we need to do is know them as human beings, that's the most important thing"

Out of these five women, was there one story in particular that affected you?

They all affected me in different ways, and when you work in-depth as I've been doing you get to really know the subject matter and become very close to the women, close but not losing your objectivity. That's the one thing that I'm very aware of, you always have to make sure that you are showing the subject matter in the round. These women were not the same and they were imperfect like all of us. I found Annie Chapman's story very moving because I think she and her husband managed to claw their way out of grinding poverty into the lower-middle classes, which was no small feat at that time and their lives, their children's lives, could have been so much better if Annie had not been an alcoholic, which was the downfall for her entire family.

In your book, you've made a point of not discussing the final and tragic moments of these women - why did you decide to take this approach?

There's enough of it out there already because every single book that has ever been written on Jack the Ripper goes into finite detail about how these women were murdered. You can Google any one of these women, the Whitechapel murders, and find lots of gratuitous detail about how they were murdered. You

Setting The Facts Straight

Correcting five misconceptions about the Ripper's victims

They were not all prostitutes

It was often stated at the time of the murders that all five women were prostitutes, and this myth still persists to this day. But there is very little evidence to suggest that three of the women were sex workers at all. In fact, Mary Jane Kelly was the only victim to have 'prostitute' listed as her occupation on her death certificate.

Not all of the women were young

The victims of Jack the Ripper are usually thought to have been young but, in reality, four of them were in their 40s when they were murdered. The oldest was Annie Chapman, who was 47 when she was killed, and the youngest was Mary Jane Kelly, who was 25.

They weren't from the East End

Polly Nichols grew up in Holborn, Annie Chapman lived between Knightsbridge and Windsor, Elisabeth Stride was from Sweden, Catherine Eddowes hailed from Wolverhampton and Mary Jane Kelly claimed she was from Ireland and Wales.

They were not all working class

It's commonly assumed that all five women spent their entire lives as members of the working class. However, Annie Chapman managed to enter the lower middle-class with her husband and even attended one of Britain's first alcoholic rehabilitation centres for middle-class women.

They were not lone figures

It's perhaps fair to say that many of us have forgotten that these five women all had families. The various depictions of their brutal murders which have circulated for over a century have eclipsed the fact that they were not alone in life as they were in death - for example, Polly, Annie and Catherine all had children.

can see pictures of them lying dead in the morgue and we don't need that. What we need to do is know them as human beings, that's the most important thing. Jack the Ripper's legend begins with their death and what I wanted to do was completely turn it around so that the first chapter begins with these women's lives.

You've also made a deliberate choice to avoid speculating about Jack the Ripper's identity. Why do you think we are so obsessed with him over a century later?

Because I think this is probably the most famous unsolved series of murders in history. It's a rather self-perpetuating thing, where it's famous so it continues to be because nobody's thought of it in any other paradigm. It's a good question, why are we still interested in it? Over the years it has acquired a taste of allure and to be honest, become its own genre. As I mentioned in the book, it has become fused with fiction and a part of this fictional London map, part Sherlock Holmes, part Jekyll and Hyde and part Dracula. Jack the Ripper was real but we forget that, so he becomes a monster. He was a human being who killed human beings and we forget that. So this all becomes part of the game and its shadowplay, it's interesting and it's fun, and we lose a sense of reality in it.

Your book has received a lot of praise, it won the Baillie Gifford Prize last year and it was nominated for the Wolfson History Prize 2020. However, it has also received a lot of criticism from Ripperologists who object to your research - why is *The Five* so controversial?

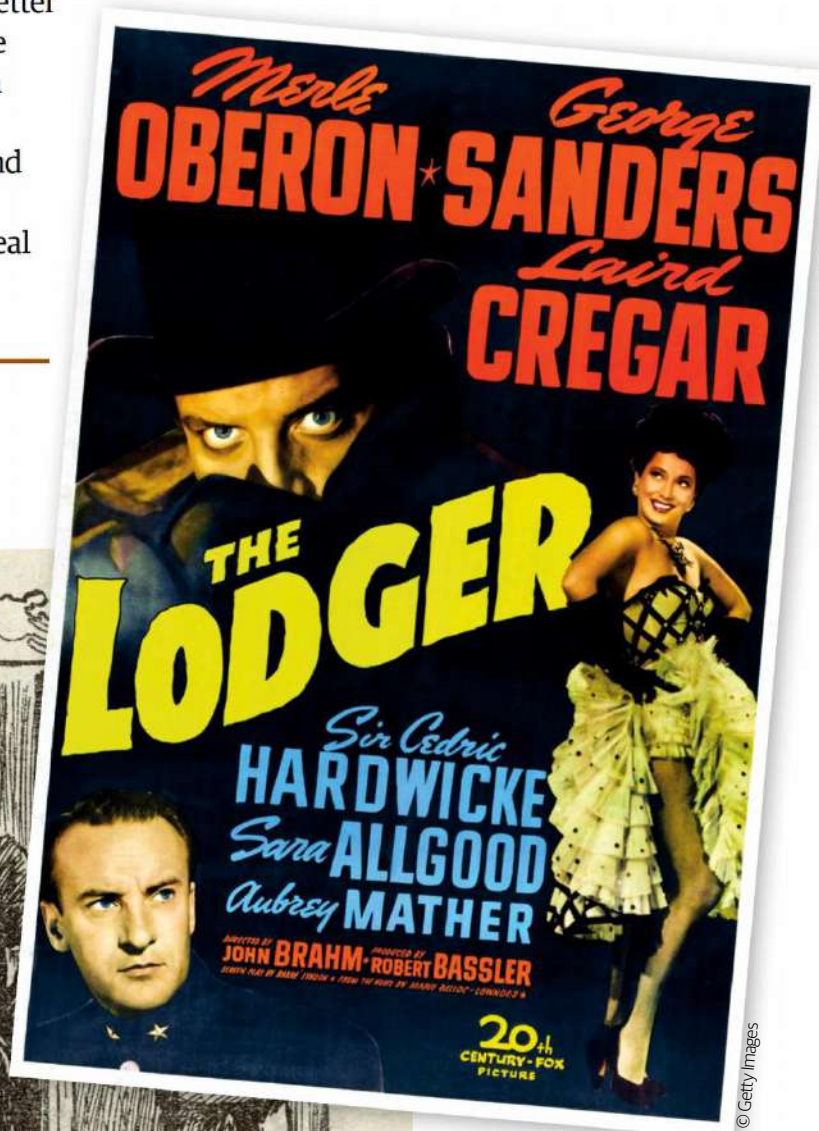
I think several reasons and, first of all, I've come along and upset the orthodoxy. I've upset a lot of people, mostly men but some women, who have staked their reputations on being Jack the Ripper experts. Their interest has been about this for years and years of their lives. I've had people say to me, "I studied this for

30 years." Well, you're reading the same books, by those same people who are repeating all the same things. It's insular, it's not open-minded and none of these people are trained historians. Just because you've read a lot of books that doesn't make you a historian. It doesn't make you able to understand documents. And just because you've read a lot of books on Jack the Ripper, you're not an expert on 19th century sex work. There are a lot of people - I have to say it is mostly men - who have pinned their egos on being experts and here I am, an outsider, saying that's not true because of this, this and this, and they just go berserk because it becomes like a personal attack on them. They do absolutely everything they can to try to discredit me, and they were doing everything they could to discredit me eight months before the book was even published! They didn't even know what was in the book - they had no idea.

What do you hope readers will take away from *The Five*?

I hope that they will see the women as human beings and that this will change the Jack the Ripper narrative for the better. It's not a story which starts with the death of these women, but incorporates their lives so we can better understand this period, this episode in the late-19th century, and we can understand the people who were involved in it and we can understand that this is not fiction. This is not a legend. This is real and it affected real people and these women can have some dignity restored to them. ○

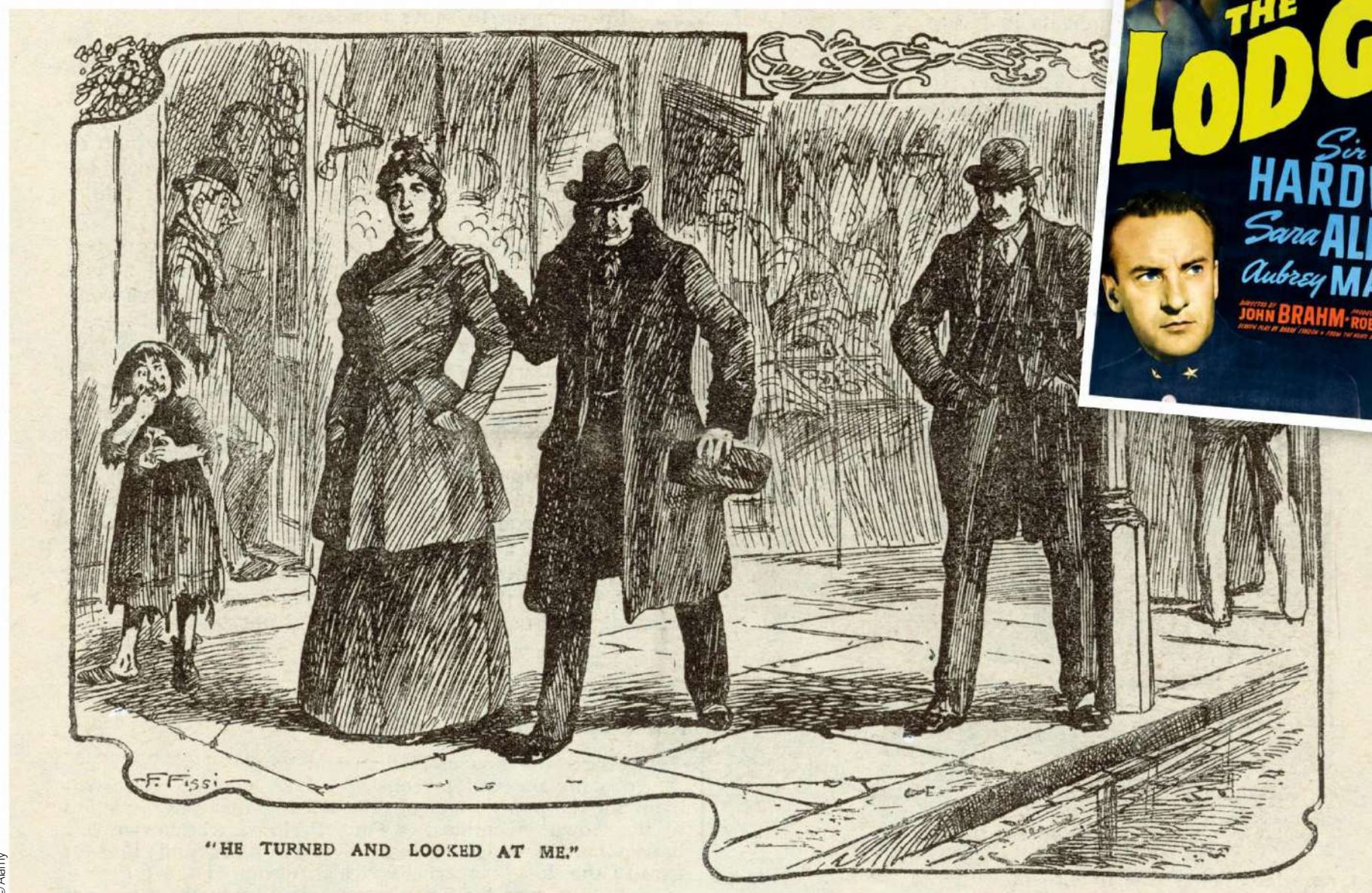
The *Five* by Hallie Rubenhold was shortlisted for the Wolfson History Prize 2020



OPPOSITE *The Illustrated Police News*, a tabloid which used vulgar illustrations of the victims bodies

ABOVE The 1944 film *The Lodger* was one of the many Hollywood depictions of Jack the Ripper

LEFT Lurid and inaccurate accounts of the murders were hugely popular with the public



"HE TURNED AND LOOKED AT ME."

Countess Dracula



*How Elizabeth Báthory terrorised the Kingdom of Hungary
and became one of history's most reviled figures*

Written by Peter Price

As the cold midwinter of 1610 seeped through the stone of Čachtice Castle in Hungary, screams could be heard coming from within. The 50-year-old widow, Countess Elizabeth Báthory, was indulging in some entertainment. At her feet lay a young serving girl who was being burned with red-hot irons. She would not survive.

The countess, who would come to be known as the most prolific female killer in history, seems to have found pleasure in inflicting pain and misery on her servants, serfs and anyone who crossed her. Over the years, these tales of torture grew so monstrous that she was thought to have bathed in the blood of virgins, a pastime that granted her eternal youth. Like the fictional character Dracula,

with whom she is often compared, she is seen as a monster and someone who inflicted pain on others for personal pleasure. Over centuries of folklore and embellishment, fact and fiction has become muddled, with the number of her victims cited as high as 650.

The Kingdom of Hungary, where Báthory hailed from, looked much different in the late-16th and early-17th centuries than it does now. The southern half was claimed by the Ottoman Empire and offered them a potential gateway into Europe. Opposing this in the north were the various wealthy nobles who, in spite of perceived religious intolerance, were as distrustful of each other as they were of the Turks.

Elizabeth, as she is known by her anglicised name, was born to Baron Thurzó Báthory and Baroness Anna

Báthory. Although they hailed from two separate branches of the family - Thurzó from the Ecsed and Anna from the Somlyó - their lineage can be traced back to nobles who aided Vlad the Impaler in his attempts to seize the Wallachian throne. An ominous connection. As her father was a Voivode of Transylvania, it gave him exclusive administrative, judicial and military powers within that subset of the Kingdom of Hungary.

This means that as soon as Báthory was born, she already had an advantage over a significant portion of the Hungarian population. As part of the landed elite, she was schooled in Latin, German and Greek, and her family's wealth meant that she would not want for anything in her early life. ►



Her wedding to Ferenc Nádasdy, whose family – like the Báthorys – was one of the more wealthy families in Hungary, was attended by over 4,500 guests. They were betrothed when she was around 11, but she was rumoured to have carried a peasant's love child a few years later. A report tells of the child being ripped apart by dogs. As with many aspects of Báthory's life, the truth is hard to pin down. As the social standing of her family was above her husband's coming into the marriage, she had refused to change her last name, remaining a Báthory. Her independence is clearly spelt out in a letter she wrote to Lord Bánffy, a fellow Hungarian noble: "I know well, Lord Bánffy, that this is only the new poverty, that you would be watching my small estate and do this... but yet know you this, that I will not allow myself to be dominated by men for long."

Báthory's early life gives no indication to the horrible accusations that would find

her in later life. The couple had five or six children, depending on which records can be trusted, although some did not make it past infancy. Her husband fought in the Ottoman-Hungarian wars and it is in his absence that Báthory is thought to have started to indulge in her sadistic tendencies. Tales of flagellation, branding irons and sewing one unfortunate girl's mouth shut because she talked too much would all be rumours that abounded while Nádasdy was absent.

This life was not to last, however, as Nádasdy fell ill to a mysterious malady and died in 1604. This sudden death meant that Báthory found herself the owner of a string of estates that stretched over all of greater Hungary in places like Vienna, Beckov and Nyírbátor. Properties like Čachtice Castle, situated in the Carpathian Mountains, and the surrounding villages is where she would choose to make her home, both during and

While some reports link her with the deaths of 650 young women, Báthory was only officially charged with 80 murders

after her husband's lifetime. These lands gave her already-great wealth such a boost that she became the richest, most powerful and desirable countess in the land.

With the death of her husband, Báthory surrounded herself with courtiers and servants, who would later be accused of the same crimes as their mistress. They were made up of older women and a crippled boy. These women, Anna, Ilona Jó, Dorottya, Katalin, and the boy Ficzkó, were an assortment of wet nurses, washerwomen and friends. Certainly not a stereotypical band of torturers.

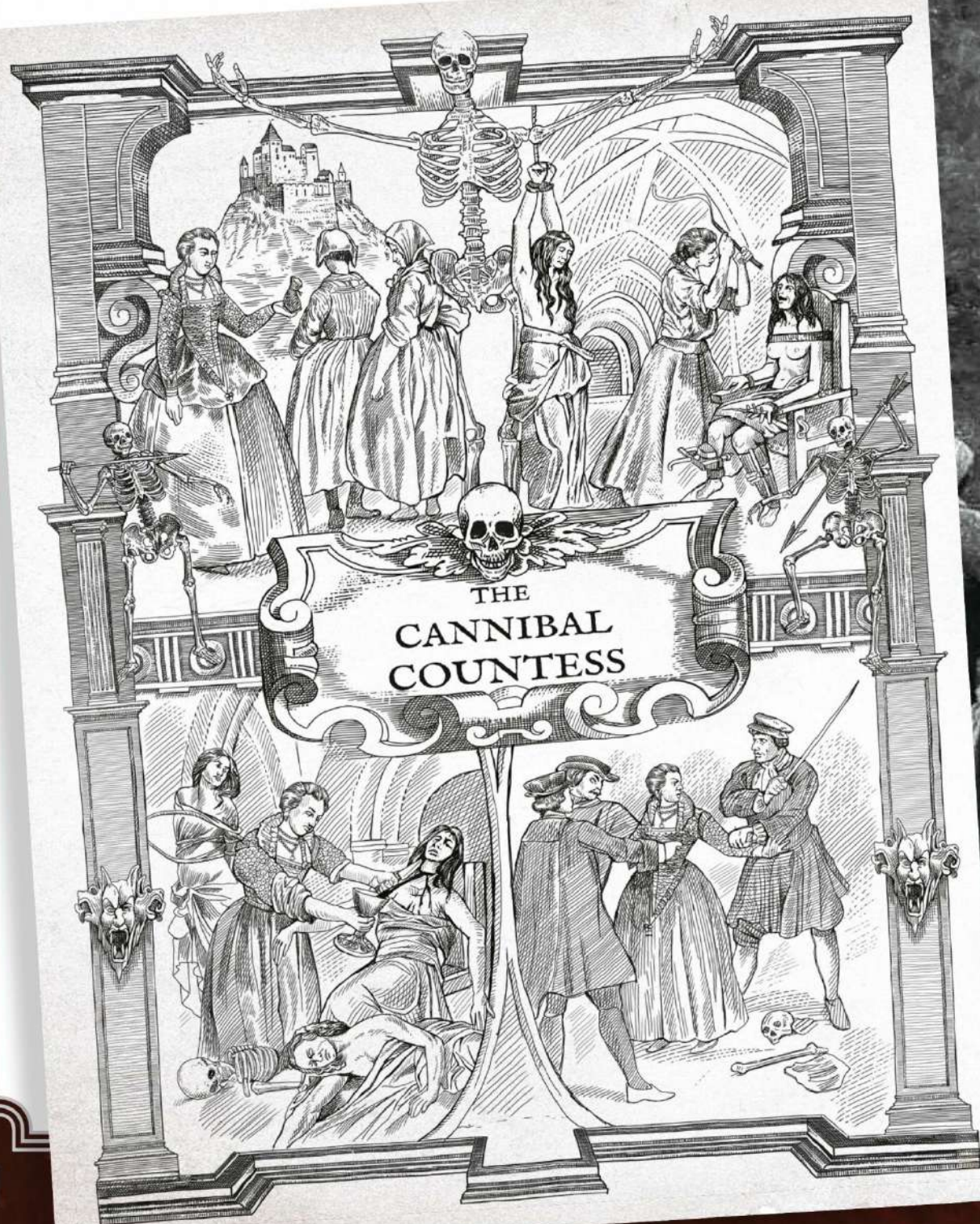
It's from their testimonies that we learn of some of Báthory's wilder behaviour, like biting chunks of flesh out of women, sometimes without even leaving the comfort of her bed. There was also talk that Báthory beat her servants with cudgels, whips, needles and red-hot irons. The abuse was not always so active, however, as some girls were doused with cold water and left outside to freeze to death. These unfortunate victims seem to have been predominantly castle servants, but also consisted of young, gentrified girls who

BELOW-LEFT

There was a huge public appetite for lurid tales of her many crimes

BELOW-RIGHT

A re-creation of Istvan Csok's painting of the tortured victims of Elizabeth Báthory. The original painting was destroyed in World War II



The Bloody Countess

The killer's legend has inspired many works of fiction

Elizabeth Báthory's fame does not come just from her family name, riches or power, but rather from the dark and twisted tales that have attached themselves to her over the years. Bathing in the blood of virgins is a tall tale, but is it really true? As it stands, there is no contemporary evidence that Báthory bathed in blood or that its 'power' gave her eternal youth.

During her lifetime, she was usually referred to as The Infamous Lady, and it would not be until around 200 years later, when the origin of the vampire was starting to take shape in Eastern Europe, that the story would be attributed to her. Youth and vitality were connected to blood, and it wasn't a big leap to think that new blood would keep someone fit and healthy.

Her story is told in various different ways, the most common being that an enraged Báthory slapped a servant and as a result got some of the victim's blood on her hand. On wiping it away, she observed that the skin looked noticeably younger and healthier. After this discovery she would regularly bathe in tubs full of it, or take a 'shower' under bodies cut and hung from the ceiling, covering her in blood.

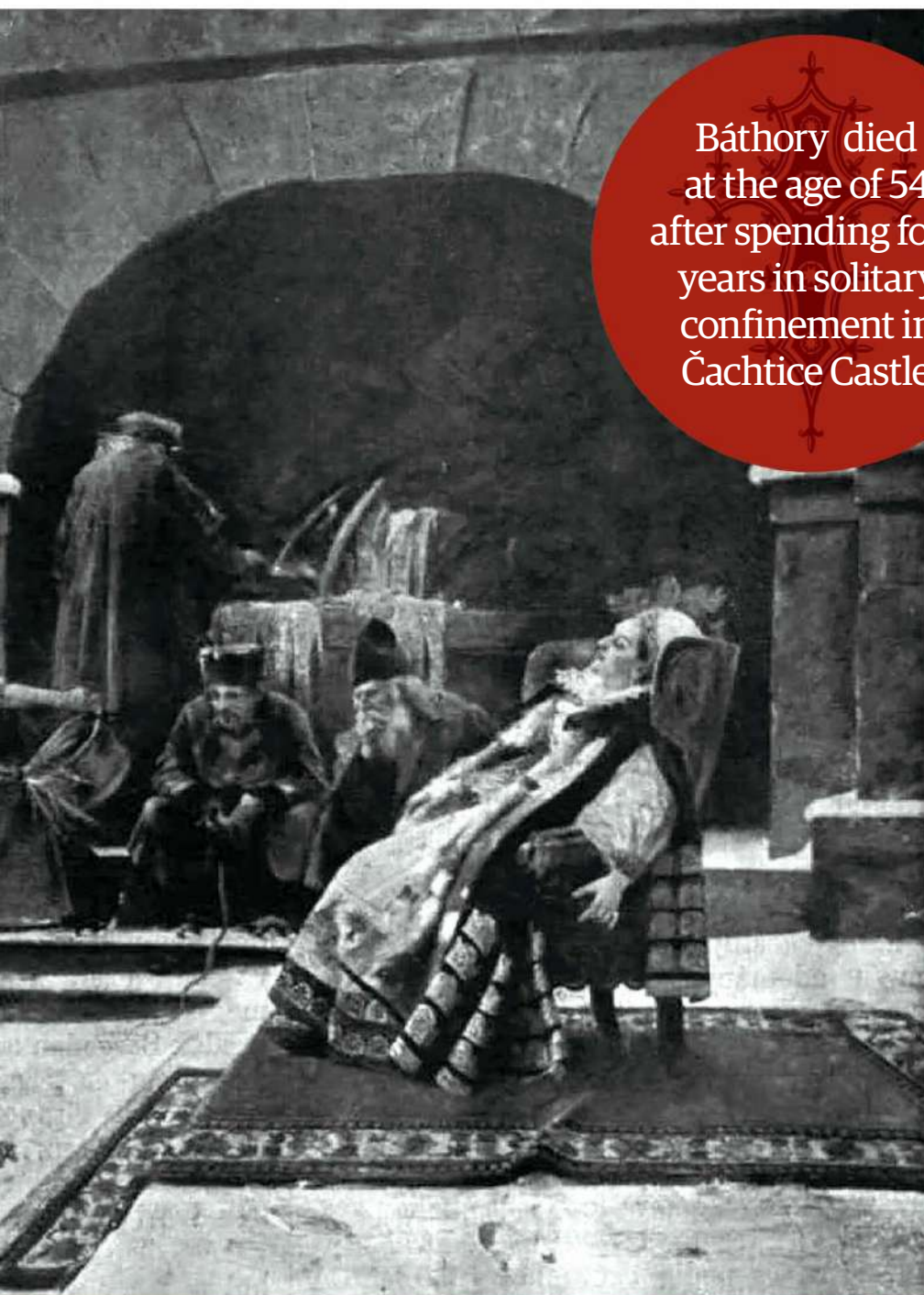
The first time the legend appeared in print was in 1729 in *Tragica Historia* by a Jesuit scholar. This

account is thought to have been gained from local oral history that has either been warped in translation or was hearsay from the start.

Biographers of Báthory have drawn parallels between the countess and the title character of Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897), insinuating that the former – as much as Vlad the Impaler – was the inspiration for the latter. Whether or not she spawned Stoker's icon is up for debate, but it is certain that Báthory has had a huge impact on tales of the modern-day bloodsucker. Her bloody infamy has contributed to the iconography of vampire fiction through the likes of Hammer's *Countess Dracula* and provocative Belgian horror *Daughters Of Darkness*, both released in 1971. Less directly, her antics are believed to have inspired the 'lesbian vampire' trope, established through Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu's novella *Carmilla* (1872), while one of her haunts – Čachtice Castle in Slovakia – served as Count Orlok's home in the silent film masterpiece *Nosferatu* (1922).



© Getty Images



Báthory died at the age of 54 after spending four years in solitary confinement in Čachtice Castle

were sent to the Báthory estate to learn courtly etiquette.

Without the steady stream of plunder from her husband's military campaigns, the Báthory estate was beginning to run low on funds. The king owed an enormous debt to her late husband, and Báthory made frequent trips to the royal treasury, attempting to have this coin repaid.

Her sadistic behaviour was said to have gone on until 1610, when the bloody accusations could no longer be ignored. It was decided that the palatine of Hungary, Count György Thurzó, would investigate these disturbances. A palatine was a high-level official in the kingdom, a remnant of the bygone Roman era, and was second only to the king in power. Thurzó, with his military background and political experience, was seen as the perfect man for the job.

Arriving at Báthory's estate, he claims in his personal account to have found the dead body of a young woman, and another whose mortal wounds were plainly caused by torture. More women were also found imprisoned and seemed to be waiting to meet the same fate. He wrote in a letter: "When my men entered Csejthe Manor, they found a girl dead in the house; another followed in death as a result of many wounds and agonies. In addition to this,

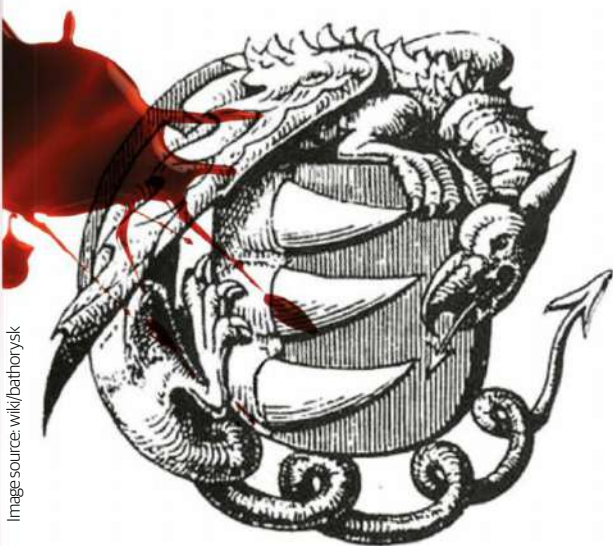
there was also a wounded and tortured woman there; the other victims were kept hidden away..."

Thurzó did not catch Báthory in the act of torturing these women, it was a later embellishment to the story. What Thurzó does provide is an eyewitness account of Báthory seemingly engaged in the torture and murder of servant girls at her own home. It's not quite bathing in virgins' blood, but damning nonetheless.

Báthory and her accomplices were then arrested and officials began their investigation. Under torture, her accomplices admitted that they were complicit in a number of atrocities committed over the years, and other witnesses spoke of seeing seemingly hundreds of young women tortured and killed. Her servant, Ilona Jó, gave this account: "She pricked the girls through their fingers with pins and said, 'If it hurts the whore, then she can pull it out.' If she did so, the Lady would beat her again and cut off the finger."

With the necessary information extracted, her accomplices were executed a week later. Another witness testimony brought Báthory's crimes to the attention of the court: "The second witness was the honourable Tamás Jaworka, judge of the City of Kosztolány, about 40 years old, sworn and interrogated; he spoke of the

Image source: Mary Evans Picture Library



The Báthory Family

Her ancestors rose to wield significant political power in Hungary

The origins of the Báthorys have been traced back to 11th-century Hungarian nobles who emigrated from Swabia (now modern-day Germany). The family would split a few centuries later into two distinct branches, the Ecsed and Somlyo, with Elizabeth's parents coming from both branches.

The Báthory's connection with the Order of the Dragon, Elizabeth's coat of arms and dragons in general can be traced back to the legendary origins of the family. In the year 900, a pious warrior named Vitus is said to have slain a dragon in the swamps of Ecsed and was gifted the name Báthory in recognition. The three dragon talons on the coat of arms are thought to represent the three lance thrusts it took to slay the beast.

The Báthorys would come to hold many religious, military and civil roles in government. A prime example would be Cardinal Andrew Barthory, who would become the Grand Master of the Order of the Dragon. Perhaps the most famous member of the family (Elizabeth not withstanding, of course) is Stephen Báthory, who became king of Poland in 1576. He has been described as the 'darling of both the Polish public opinion and Polish historians' and was uncle to Elizabeth through her mother, but probably didn't factor much in her life. His reign is hailed as one of the strongest in Polish history, where he beat the Habsburg candidate to the throne, defended the borders from Russian incursions and attempted to build a great state from Poland, Muscovy and Transylvania (of which he was count).

These prominent connections across Eastern Europe have been theorised as another reason why Elizabeth was not brought to trial. The embarrassment that the allegations against her could bring to the family name would have been acute, and so the Báthorys used their power and influence to have her imprisoned instead.



ABOVE
A portrait of Báthory's husband, Ferenc Nádasdy, by an unknown artist

cruelty of the woman Elizabeth Báthory... and said, in addition, that he had heard from some young servants of the said Lady... how extremely cruel this woman was with her maids; namely, that she burned some of them on the abdomen with a red-hot iron; others she seated in a large, earthen tank and poured boiling water over them and scalded the skin, in this way causing them to suffer; the same witness had also frequently seen the appearances of the virgins in her retinue disfigured and covered with blue spots from numerous blows..."

Báthory was never able to defend herself or her actions, being forbidden to represent herself in trial. Thurzó used his connections with the king to impose perpetual carceribus (life imprisonment) rather than the death penalty. And so Báthory was condemned to live the rest of her life imprisoned in her own castle, bricked up in a room with a sliver of space to have food passed through and to allow airflow. Her lands and wealth were stripped from her and divided up among her relatives.

In this way she would die alone four years later. Her last recorded words were her telling her guard: "Look, how cold my hands are." The reply being: "It's nothing, mistress.

Just go and lie down." She was found dead in the morning and buried nearby, to the outrage of the villagers, who rioted. Her body was then moved to the Báthory family crypt but has since disappeared and to this day it's not known where her remains lie.

By all accounts, the life of Báthory was one of a sadist; someone who enjoyed inflicting pain and suffering on her fellow Hungarians. There is some evidence, however, that could show her in

a different light; one that paints her as a victim of political manoeuvring and slander on a massive scale.

By a happy coincidence (for them), or by more sinister connections, many of the countess's relatives who received new lands had close ties with Thurzó, as did many of the witnesses at Bathory's trial.

This meant that these people had something to gain from the condemnation and imprisonment of her. Naturally, suspicion should be shown to these figures and their accounts in order to view Báthory's actions fairly.

The confessions from her accomplices were gained under torture, a method that is suspect and often thought of as inadmissible in a modern-day court. This, coupled with Báthory's lack of trial and

Báthory's killing spree is thought to have taken place over a period of almost 20 years between 1590 and 1609

What remains of Báthory's family home, Čachtice Castle

Čachtice Castle is now part of modern-day Slovakia, and is located close to the border with the Czech Republic

personal defence, has left large gaps in our knowledge of the situation, and in these gaps, myths have sprouted and taken hold. With the main evidence levelled against Báthory coming from these confessions and independent witness testimonies, there are some who believe that Báthory was the victim of a conspiracy. This is certainly a possibility, as the removal of a powerful local rival would suit the aims of Thurzó, who would also gain credit for stopping a 'monster'. The extended Báthory family also stood to gain many benefits from the lands that they would inherit. Báthory's lucrative land holdings would have been seized by the crown, not passed to her relatives, if she had been tried and convicted. It is also very convenient that with the condemnation of Báthory, the Hungarian king would be free of his large debts to her estates.

Premature deaths and the beating of servants was a grisly part of daily life in this period, and this could have been used to pin non-existent crimes on Báthory. Some ideas go even further, stating that many of the 'torture' devices used were actually healing instruments, that when she was accused of burning servants with red hot irons she was not doing it for pleasure but as a way of staunching a bleeding wound, trying to save lives rather than take them. The wounds left behind by such drastic

actions could be perceived as torture wounds if the context was unknown; taking Thurzó's surprise visit as an example. These arguments are plausible, although Thurzó did not initiate the investigation on his own, but was ordered to by the authority of the king. The king had received complaints by Magyari, a local Lutheran minister, who was concerned about the activity within Báthory's estate. It is also known that Thurzó did not go to the estate with the sole intention of arresting her, and seems to have been genuinely attempting to find out the truth. He may have believed that the rumours were spread by Báthory's cousins in an attempt to destabilise the region and make a power play for the crown. Whatever the truth, in the eyes of the nobles, the perpetrators of these terrible crimes had met their ultimate fate and the case was closed. With more than 300 witness testimonies and eyewitness accounts from some of her closest advisors, it's hard to believe that there's not a kernel of truth in the stories.

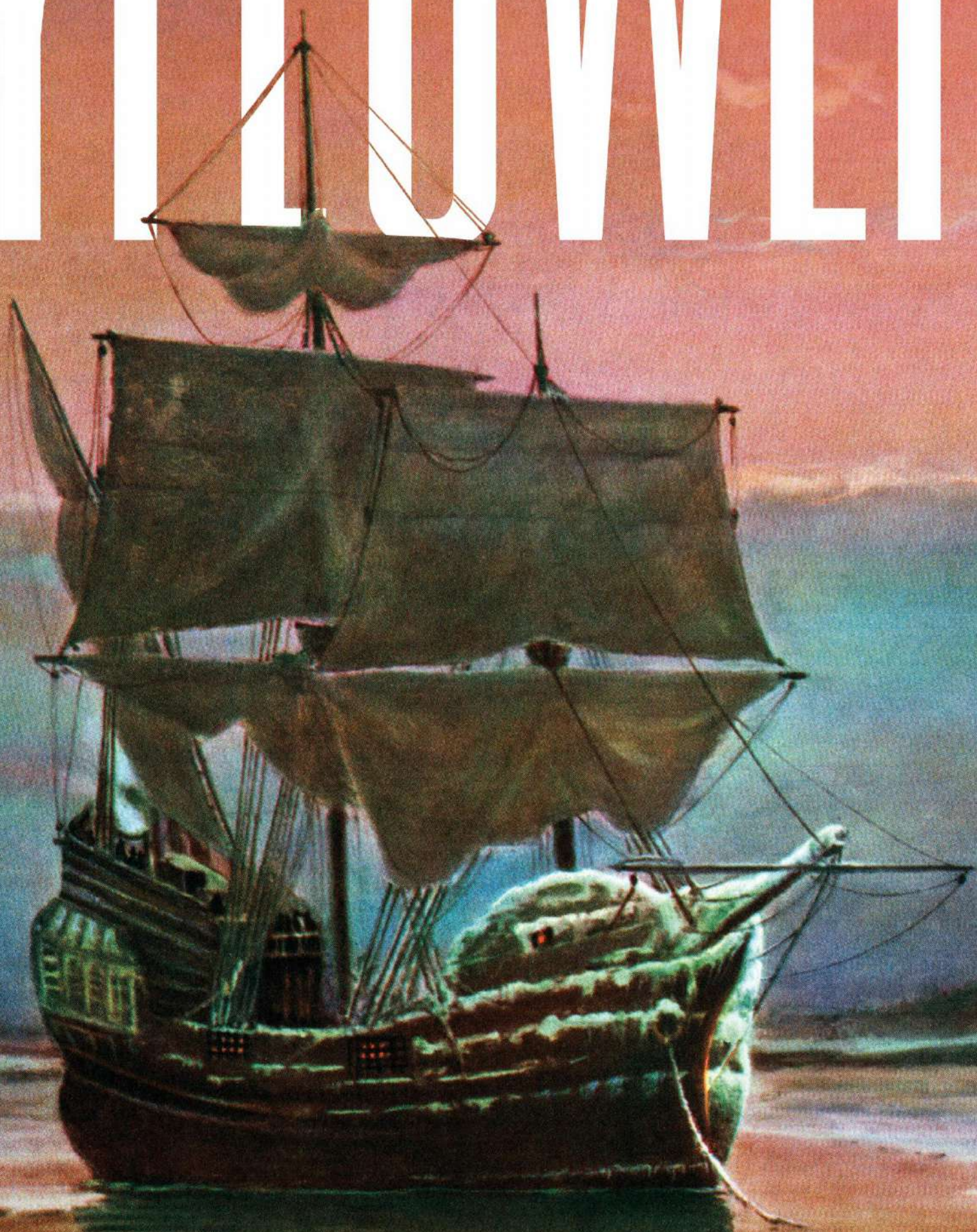
The question becomes: how much is to be believed and were other factors at play than simple justice? The figure of 650 victims seems high, and it's generally agreed that the actual number was much lower. Whatever the truth, the fact remains that Elizabeth Báthory's story has become one of the most infamous ever told. ○

RIGHT
Emperor Matthias As Archduke by Lucas van Valckenborch, painted in 1583



Image source: wiki/
Lucas van Valckenborch

MAYFLOWER



MYTHS

Dr Simon Targett explains why we might have America's founding story of the Pilgrims all wrong

Written by Jonathan Gordon

This year marks the 400th anniversary of the Mayflower setting sail from Plymouth, England, on 16 September, carrying its 102 passengers and 30 crew to the New World. They would land in what is now Provincetown, Massachusetts, on 21 November and on 26 December the passengers disembarked on what would become Plymouth, Massachusetts. This historic journey has become an integral part of the founding story of the United States, with the Mayflower Compact an example of the governmental framework for the country to come.

However, this may not be a particularly accurate founding story for America. Indeed, as we learned speaking with Dr Simon Targett about his book *New World, Inc.* (co-authored with John Butman) the origin of the USA really dates back earlier and the motivations for its foundation may be both different from those of the Pilgrims and perhaps more in keeping with the image America has of itself today.

"If the Pilgrims were to come back today, they would be hugely surprised at the way their story has become the founding myth because they were just one of many groups going across the Atlantic in search of a new life," Targett tells us. "In the classic telling of the Pilgrim story, you get the picture of a solitary and devout group of people, motivated by piety rather than profit, bravely crossing the dangerous ocean, getting to Plymouth Rock, surviving that first tough winter, and then giving thanks in a ceremony that became Thanksgiving. But the real story was

"PRETTY MUCH FOR 150 YEARS, THE STORY OF THE PILGRIMS WAS FORGOTTEN"

very different. By 1620, when the Pilgrims went to America, the Atlantic was pretty much a highway with lots of vessels going back and forth, and the Pilgrims were one group among many that was originally trying to get to Jamestown and be part of what was a fast-expanding settlement."

Even the precise motivations for the journey can be called into question according to Targett. "There, they could practise their religion but that was not what prompted them to leave Europe," he says. "Although their last port of call was Plymouth in England, they originally came from Leiden in the Netherlands and there, as Separatists from the Anglican Church, they enjoyed as much tolerance of their religious beliefs as they could wish for. So it is a mistake to think that they were motivated principally by the desire for even more freedom to follow their religious beliefs. What really motivated them was a desire to bring up their children in an English manner - which they found hard to do in the Netherlands - and to enjoy a better standard of living. And it is not a little ironic that they turned to a group of merchants to help them achieve their dreams."

The importance of pioneering traders and merchants is the focus of Targett and Butman's book, *New World, Inc.*, which tries to place the founding of America in the longer historical context of exploration and trade from North America to Europe that

EXPERT BIO

Dr Simon Targett is an award-winning journalist, historian and co-author of *New World, Inc.: The Story Of The British Empire's Most Successful Start-Up*, available from Atlantic Books. You can read our full interview at bit.ly/AAHpilgrims



had been going on since the 1550s. “When I think of America I think of Wall Street, Silicon Valley, Bill Gates, and some of the big brands, McDonald’s and all of that,” says Targett. “It’s about entrepreneurship. It’s about making your way in the world. And as we dug deeper into the archives, we came across some different people, the merchants and their associates, whose story began not in 1620 when the Pilgrims reached America, but much earlier. We realised that their story hadn’t been properly told. Hence we called them ‘the Forgotten Founders’.”

The driving force behind these new commercial ventures was a desire in England to find new trading routes to the Far East and particularly China, a desire that became all the more urgent when the French reclaimed the port of Calais in 1558, removing England’s foothold in mainland Europe. A young entrepreneur named Sir Humphrey Gilbert was pivotal in directing attention to the west as a solution to this challenge. “One of Gilbert’s ideas was to reach China by going through what would later be called the North West Passage – through the icy Arctic waters of what is now Canada – rather than through the North East Passage,” explains Targett. “Again, as we explain in *New World, Inc.*, he didn’t succeed, but he did trigger a renewed effort to get to China. In fact, it’s worth mentioning that for the first third of our book we don’t really talk about America. But we think it’s important to understand this backstory in order to understand how America and the British Empire came to be. Gilbert’s role was critical, and

“SOME OF THE EARLIEST SETTLERS IN JAMESTOWN WERE THE FIRST PEOPLE TO LIVE THE AMERICAN DREAM”

he sparked a whole series of adventures. We think that from his time onwards you can trace, albeit through a number of zigzags, a consistent path to the first permanent English settlements in the early 1600s.”

What’s particularly interesting about these histories of entrepreneurs travelling west from England to open up new trading opportunities, sometimes as a palliative to economic challenges at home, is that they feel more connected to two of America’s core values: the pioneer spirit and the American Dream. That said, the pioneer spirit also seems appropriate to the Mayflower Pilgrims.

“The pioneer spirit and the American Dream are really two separate things,” says Targett. “The pioneer spirit is reflected in the old idea of ‘Go west, young man’, and of course people went west, got to America’s east coast, and then over the next 200 years kept on going west until they reached the Pacific. So there was absolutely that pioneer spirit, and it manifested itself in various ways. There was a pioneer spirit in the way the sailors confronted physical danger, there was a pioneer spirit in the way the merchants created modern-style investment vehicles like companies, and there was a pioneer spirit in the way the first settlers tried to interact with the local indigenous people.”

The American Dream, however, if we take it to be about working your way from rags to riches, sits better in the story of those who came before the Pilgrims. “As for the American Dream, we do say that some of the earliest settlers in Jamestown were the first people to live the American Dream.

RIGHT A classic depiction of the first Thanksgiving as it was portrayed in popular culture

BELOW-RIGHT The passengers on the Mayflower and Speedwell had already spent six weeks at sea before they departed Plymouth, England



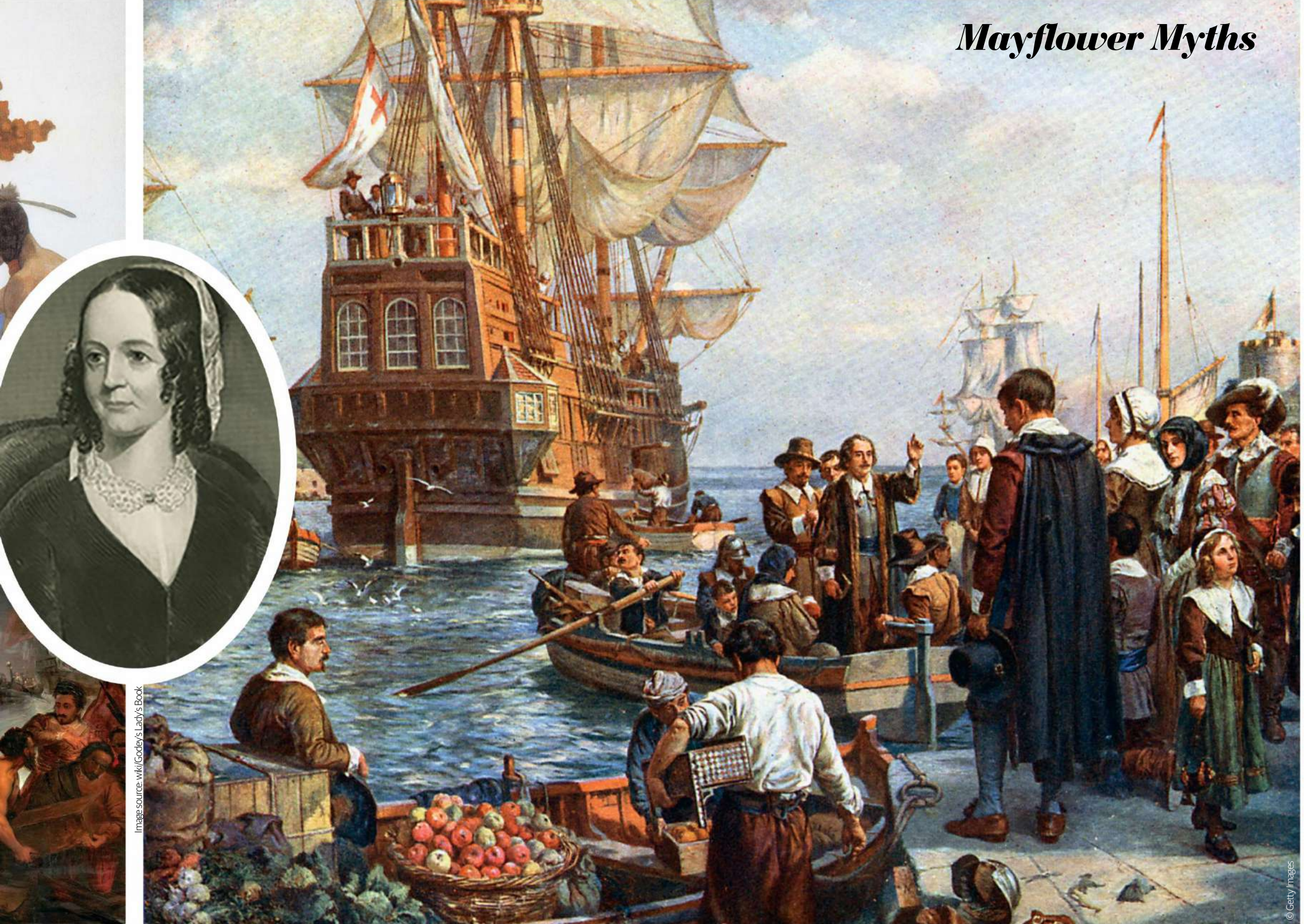
BELOW Sir Humphrey Gilbert was an instrumental figure in building commercial links to North America from England



Jamestown had a terribly difficult birth as a settlement and it was only thanks to people like Thomas Smythe and his merchant associates – who kept sending people and resupplying the settlement – that it survived. Some of the poorest settlers went as indentured servants who were promised their freedom and some land if they worked for five to seven years – and survived. The first group went in 1607 and in 1614, when their period of servitude ended, some decided to return to England. But some decided to stay, and they were given parcels of land and told they could farm independently and keep the fruits of their labour for 11 out of 12 months a year. Only for one month a year did they have to produce corn and other things that would be given to the rest of the settler community.”

For many of the settlers, this would have been a gigantic leap forward in terms of their social and economic standing from what they could have hoped to achieve back in Europe. “This was really the beginning of the idea of private property and remember, these people could never have dreamed of being landowners or landholders back in England. So the idea that hard work, discipline and diligence would be paid back with greater riches and greater wellbeing and security – which is really the essence of the American Dream – was formed at this early stage. Of course, there were great risks too, and many people who left England to go to America didn’t survive. But those who did, those who gambled and saw their gamble pay off, did live that American Dream.”

Mayflower Myths



That this dream ultimately came at the expense of the indigenous people who already lived on these lands and later the work of enslaved people remains the dark heart of this tale and one that gets swept to one side by the Pilgrim story and its images of hospitality and community. So how did the story of the Mayflower, as important as it was to the expansion of European settlers into North America, become the founding story of the US?

"For an answer to this question you have to look to the American Civil War period of the 1860s," says Targett. "Pretty much for 150 years, the story of the Pilgrims was forgotten, lost and not much thought about. And, of course, the great Founding

Fathers, like Thomas Jefferson and George Washington, hailed from Virginia, from the south, so Jamestown was more commonly the story that they talked about and remembered. But in the 1860s a young woman, Sarah Josepha Hale - a magazine editor best-remembered as the author of the nursery rhyme *Mary Had A Little Lamb* - wrote to Abraham Lincoln and suggested a day of national reconciliation or a day of thanksgiving as a way of healing the divisions between the Unionists and the Confederates, between the north and the south."

The story had found new interest in the 1850s thanks to papers detailing the journey being discovered in the library of Fulham Palace, London. *Of Plymouth Plantation*, written by William Bradford, was a voice from America's recent past and this recollection of America before it had fully formed itself into a nation naturally felt relevant to the current events.

"Lincoln was likewise excited by the whole thing and authorised a day of thanksgiving towards the end of November, which of course has been celebrated ever since," says Targett. "So, in a way, the reason why the Pilgrim story has been put on a plinth is because of its link with Thanksgiving and with a national celebration when the country comes together and people temporarily put aside their differences."

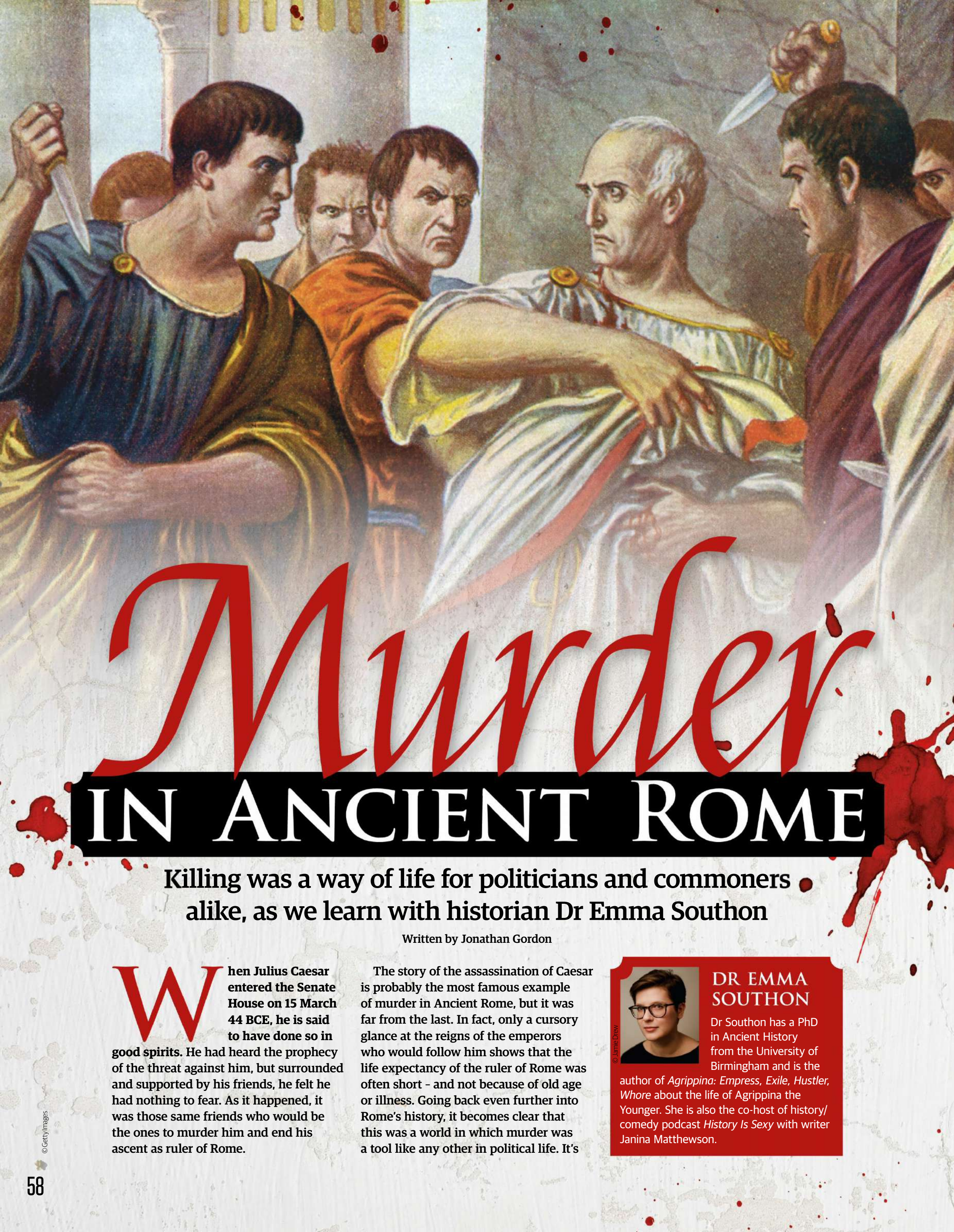
Does all of this make the Mayflower's story any less important? Not particularly. It merely places this 400th anniversary in a greater context of a nation that was already planting its seeds in the continent long before the Pilgrims arrived. The very nature of what America has come to stand for makes more sense when this wider understanding is brought to bear. ○

ABOVE The Mayflower prepares for departure

ABOVE-INSET Sarah Hale was pivotal in the founding of Thanksgiving as a national American holiday

LEFT The Puritan founders as depicted by Antonio Gisbert





Murder

IN ANCIENT ROME

Killing was a way of life for politicians and commoners alike, as we learn with historian Dr Emma Southon

Written by Jonathan Gordon

When Julius Caesar entered the Senate House on 15 March 44 BCE, he is said to have done so in good spirits. He had heard the prophecy of the threat against him, but surrounded and supported by his friends, he felt he had nothing to fear. As it happened, it was those same friends who would be the ones to murder him and end his ascent as ruler of Rome.

The story of the assassination of Caesar is probably the most famous example of murder in Ancient Rome, but it was far from the last. In fact, only a cursory glance at the reigns of the emperors who would follow him shows that the life expectancy of the ruler of Rome was often short – and not because of old age or illness. Going back even further into Rome’s history, it becomes clear that this was a world in which murder was a tool like any other in political life. It’s



DR EMMA SOUTHON

Dr Southon has a PhD in Ancient History from the University of Birmingham and is the author of *Agrippina: Empress, Exile, Hustler, Whore* about the life of Agrippina the Younger. She is also the co-host of history/comedy podcast *History Is Sexy* with writer Janina Matthewson.

this very history that Dr Emma Southon explores in her new book *A Fatal Thing Happened On The Way To The Forum*.

"The first magistrate to be murdered by the Senate was Tiberius Gracchus," Southon tells us. "He was beaten to death by a mob of furious senators while he was tribune of the plebs and trying to force through land reforms. He was retroactively declared an enemy of Rome and the Senate celebrated his death. That happened in 133 BCE." And this was just the beginning.

"Paramilitary gangs led by people such as Milo and Clodius Pulcher roamed the streets and controlled elections by beating and killing people," explains Southon.

"Cicero's house was burnt down. Mark Anthony once

chased Clodius, who was tribune of the plebs, across the forum with a knife. Clodius was eventually murdered in a street brawl with Milo. For about two full generations of Roman politics, the landscape was incredibly violent. Murder was not so much legitimate as commonplace."

Taking a step back from the political sphere, Roman society was steeped in violence in many quarters. The popularity of gladiatorial combat is as good an example of this as any other. But it begs the question: what was it about how the Romans viewed life and death that would make such actions seem acceptable?

"The main takeaway is that social death was culturally as important as physical death to the Romans," Southon tells us. "People who had no *fama* or *dignitas*, like slaves, gladiators, actors or sex workers, were effectively already dead in Roman culture and, outside of their personal families and circles, made no ripples in the social fabric when they were killed. In modern homicide studies, these people are called the 'less-dead'."

So, with the 'lower classes' seen as expendable, their death was business as usual. "From enslaved people being beaten to death, to revenge killings, to public executions in the arena, to crucifixions on the busiest highways, to gladiatorial games, to bandits who roamed the

countryside, and then every person who died a natural death that was perceived to be witchcraft, homicide was a really regular part of life for a lot of Romans, which is really tough to get one's head around," says Southon. "So although they reacted with the expected grief and horror when someone they loved or someone famous died, they were exposed to the homicide of strangers on a regular basis and were, for the most part, not negatively moved by it."

So, in this context was murder even something Romans cared about? Yes, but only if the victim was deemed worthy of that care. "A person in Roman culture

"Mark Anthony once chased Clodius, who was tribune of the plebs, across the forum with a knife"



ABOVE Clodius, a politician and activist, was killed by gladiators on the orders of Milo

was defined by their *fama* and their *dignitas* - their good name, reputation, prestige and honour. Someone with lots of *dignitas* and/or *fama*, like a magistrate or a member of an important family of the senatorial class, is therefore very literally more important than someone with neither. People designated *infames* - of bad repute - like actors, bar owners, people found guilty of certain crimes, enslaved people, were unmurderable in a certain sense. Their families might get upset but they had no real recourse. On the other hand when Apronia, daughter of the consul Lucius Apronius, whose father held the right to wear Triumphal Ornaments, was murdered, Emperor Tiberius held a personal investigation and oversaw the initiation of formal charges against her husband."

With social standing being so important in whether someone's killing would be punished, it should come as no surprise that the exact statutes on lawful and unlawful killings were also murky. "The laws concerning murder in Rome are complicated and evolved a lot over the centuries. The earliest law code, the *Twelve Tables*, are now very fragmentary but seem to have only considered accidental homicide (manslaughter) rather than murder," says Southon. "Judy E Gaughan argues that the earliest approximation to a law making murder illegal in Rome was Sulla's *Lex Cornelia Sullae de Sicariis et Veneficis*, which made various specific forms of homicide illegal in the wake of the social wars and the civil wars between Sulla and Marius. Things like carrying a dagger with intent to kill and bribing judges to find defendants guilty in capital cases were explicitly outlawed for the first time in order to restore a semblance of order in the aftermath of

BELOW The assassination of Julius Caesar is a typical example of the kind of political conspiracy that led to the murder of a Roman leader



a civil war. But it didn't come close to making murder as a generic act of the deliberate killing of a person illegal."

One of the things that's notable about the *Lex Cornelia Sullæ de Sicariis et Veneficis* is that while it does concern itself a little with killings and sacrifices, it was equally interested in the use of magic and seemed, in places, to care more about magical rites being used to influence others than about the death utilised in performing the rites. Indeed, magic was among the few methods of murder that seemed to universally concern Romans. "Poisonings and magical murders (which are intertwined in the Roman imagination into essentially the same thing) were treated as the most serious crimes, as messing with magic and poison was considered to be deeply

unacceptable," Southon explains to us. "Street stabbings, particularly by bandits and what are often described as 'professional murderers' were also taken very seriously."

But even with all of those concerns, there was still a certain permissiveness around killings, not just around class, but also dependent upon motivation, particularly around the time of Sulla. "At that time in Roman history, there was no interest in the government in regulating who could and could not use deadly violence," explains

Southon. "Rome had a 'self-help' system of justice, which meant that it was up to the victim or the victim's family to resolve injustices, and sometimes that involved revenge killings, which the Roman senate and magistrates were not going to start regulating. It wasn't until the Roman government and the stability of the state came to rest on the power (and safety) of one man that, gradually, the right of the Roman people to kill

"Emperors who disrespected the Senate were always on a one-way trip to Stabsville"



RIGHT The circumstances of Germanicus' death (father of Agrippina) were suspicious enough that the governor of Syria was charged with murder by means of magic

BELOW Tiberius Gracchus would himself be the victim of murder



Image source: wiki/Rijksmuseum



© Getty Images



Image source: wiki/Eleven Explorer

FAR-LEFT Like many of his contemporaries, Cicero met with a grisly demise

LEFT The death of Caligula appears very similar to that of Julius Caesar



Image source: wiki/Google Cultural Institute

other people, including enslaved people, was worn away through imperial decree. It's not until the reign of Hadrian that a formal decree was made that outlawed killing and attempted killing of free men."

Even so, these sometimes vague rules around murder meant that all sorts of strange rulings and conflicts emerged. Southon recalls one particularly interesting case involving Roman consul Gnaeus Cornelius Dolabella and a woman accused of poisoning her husband and son. "She was brought before the governor of the province to be punished, but when she got there she defended herself by telling the governor that they had murdered her son from a previous marriage, and so she killed them in revenge," says Southon. "This was a huge problem for the governor because killing a member of one's family was a terrible moral outrage, which required punishment, but revenge killings were not only acceptable but very much central to Roman self-help justice. So Dolabella couldn't acquit the woman, but also couldn't condemn her because both actions would violate something central to Roman morality and justice. So he sent her to the ancient court of the Areopagus

in Athens, who'd acquitted Orestes in Greek myth and tragedy, to make the decision. The Greek judges, unwilling to oppose their Roman overlords and make a decision that would be wrong either way, resolved the issue by postponing judgement for 100 years."

As with this example, location could have as much of a bearing on the decision-making of courts as social standing and citizenship. Governors held most of the sway in Roman outposts, but back in Rome juries were needed to tackle crimes of respected citizens of the city. These juries were later replaced by appointees of the emperor once the imperial era was well established. And, of course, there was no police force to speak of to investigate crimes, with the military left to apprehend and hold suspects in the provinces and a special unit patrolling in Rome itself, run by the urban prefect.

All of this begins to paint a picture of a particularly conflicted and contradictory attitude towards life, death and justice, one that only gets more complicated when we begin to once again examine murder in the political field more closely. Unlike sex workers, slaves or gladiators,

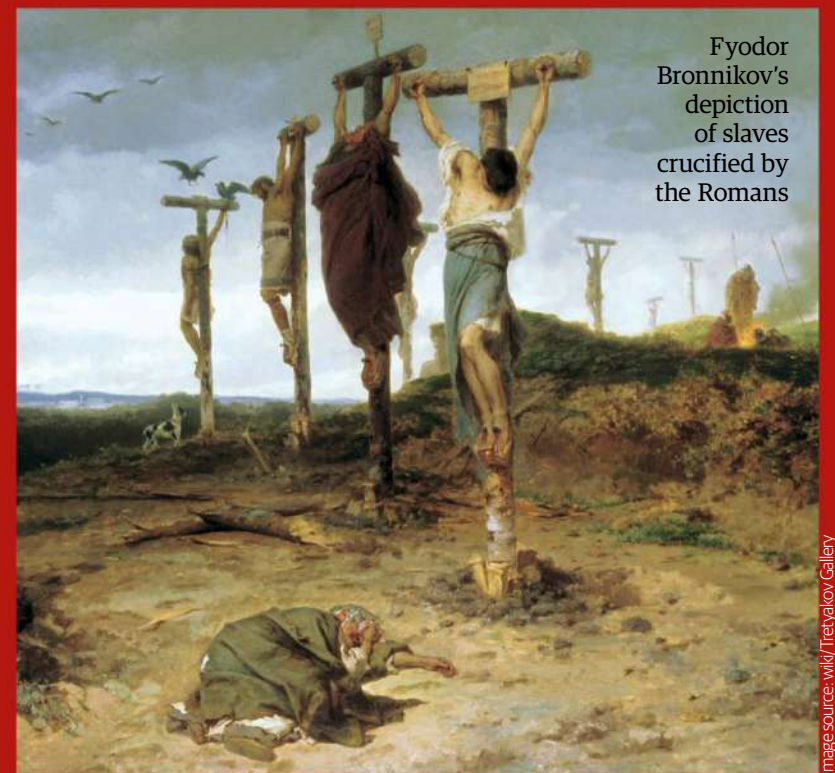
ONE MURDER, 400 VICTIMS

The punishment could be even worse than the crime

As we explore with Dr Southon, murder was all too common in Ancient Rome and was often used as a tool for personal advancement or maintaining the status quo. But the state could be just as ruthless in its punishments, as illustrated by the murder of Lucius Pedanius Secundus by an enslaved member of his household.

"The reasons given for the murder vary," explains Southon. "Either Secundus had promised the murderer his freedom and then rescinded the promise, or the man had been in love with Secundus's catamite (an underaged sex slave) and wanted Secundus to free the boy from his 'duties'. The murder itself was reasonably shocking in Rome but the consequences were all the more outrageous. A recent law had been enacted by the Senate which stated that when an enslaved person killed their enslaver, every single enslaved member of the household would be crucified. In this case, Secundus had a household of over 400 enslaved men, women and children, and some more freedmen, all of whom now had to be executed by the state."

This didn't go without a response from the people of Rome, however. "Among the working people of the city there was uproar as 400 executions, including the executions of children, for the actions of one man appalled them," says Southon. "But the Senate - all of whom were extremely well-off enslavers, surrounded by enslaved people day and night - debated the issue and came to the conclusion that it was necessary to go through with the executions in order to make sure that enslaved people remained afraid and crushed by the system. 'The only way to control such a medley of people is through terror,' a senator said according to Tacitus. 'Innocent lives will be lost, but the individual injustices are outweighed by the advantages to the community.' It took two attempts to carry out the crucifixions because protestors prevented the first go. The army had to be brought in to protect the executioners and all 400 people were executed."

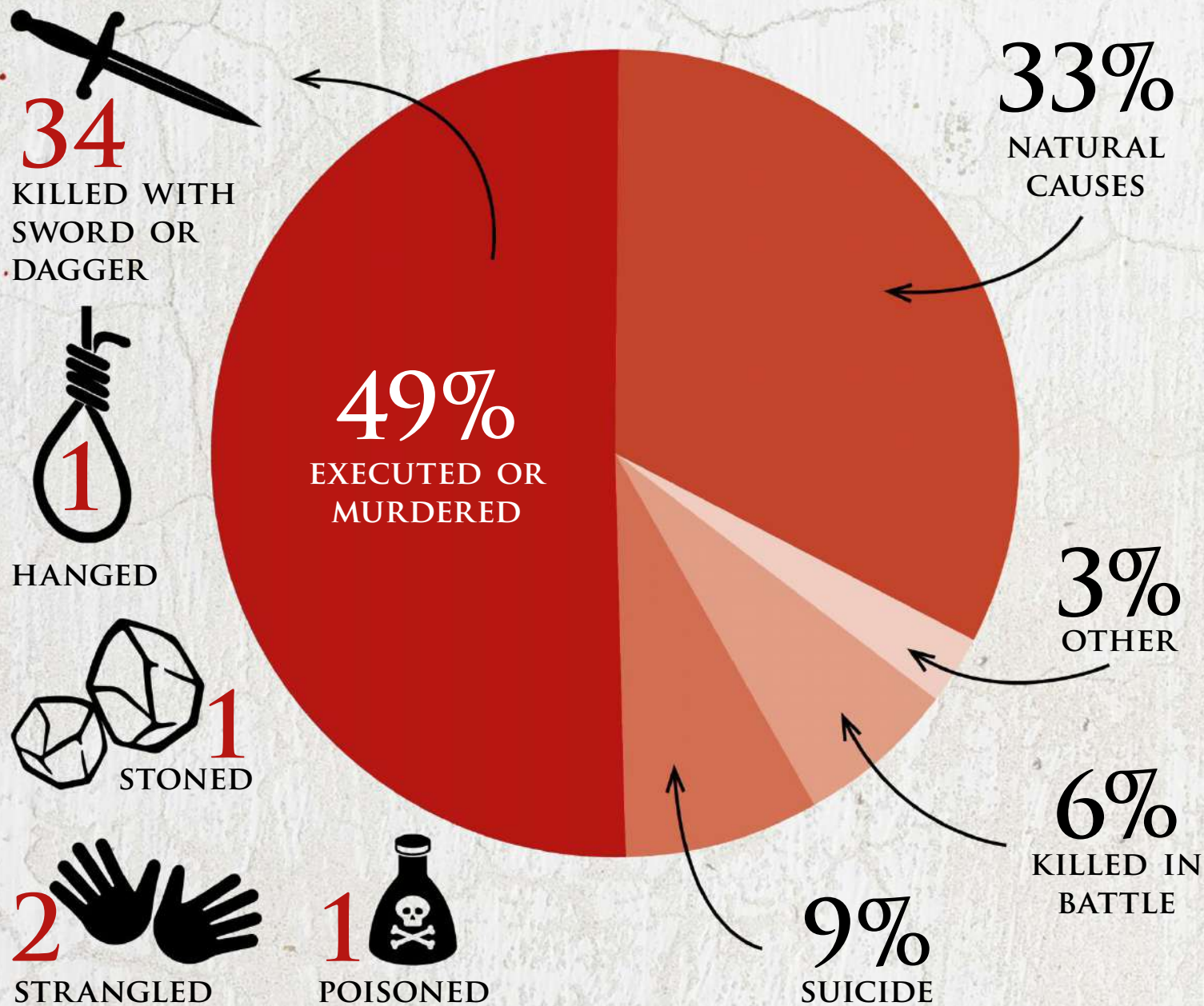


Fyodor Bronnikov's depiction of slaves crucified by the Romans

Image source: wiki/Tretyakov Gallery

THE END OF AN EMPEROR

The most common (and unusual) means of death for Roman rulers 27 BCE to 476 CE



senators and emperors couldn't be argued to be lacking in fama or dignitas, and they were being cut down at incredibly rapid rates. Between 235 CE and 284 CE, for example, there were 21 emperors and only one of them can be said to have died from natural causes. (Claudius Gothicus still only lasted two years as he died from plague while campaigning against the Goths.)

"In the 503 years of the imperial period (27 BCE - 476 CE), 49 per cent of emperors were murdered and another nine per cent died by suicide," Southon says. "The longest dynasty was the first, which lasted 95 years and five emperors, of which two were murdered and one died by suicide. Being emperor was a dangerous job! It was hard to survive and balance the competing interests of the empire, the senate, the Praetorian Guard and the armies in the provinces."

With life expectancy looking bleak, was there anything that you could do to improve your chances of surviving in the job? Southon explains some of the key factors that could lead to longevity as the head of Rome. "The emperors who survived to die a natural death in their beds, like Trajan, Hadrian, Vespasian and Diocletian, were largely army generals with the right combination of military success and interests, which kept the armies happy; an interest in bureaucracy which kept the empire running without





© Getty Images

too many famines, money flowing to the Praetorian Guard, and a diplomatic approach to stroking the egos of the Senate. The Senate liked to believe, for a very, very long time, that they were the smartest guys around and that the job of an emperor was to take their advice and flatter them constantly and definitely not kill them! Emperors who disrespected the Senate, like Caligula, Nero, Commodus, Domitian, and Elagabalus, were always on a one-way trip to Stabville because changing the emperor meant changing the whole flavour and colour of the government."

And even when a good run of leaders could be put together, it would invariably fall apart. "The Nerva-Antonine dynasty hit on the perfect formula for successful

emperors: each successive emperor was adopted as an adult by his predecessor and was chosen for his proven abilities as a leader and a general," says Southon. "Marcus Aurelius ruined the whole thing after the death of his adoptive brother

and co-ruler Lucius Verus when he allowed his son Commodus to inherit the throne instead of granting it to a proven adult. Commodus turned out to be the spoiled, disrespectful weak leader all princes-turned-emperors

were and ended his reign by being strangled by a gladiator in the bath."

As much as an emperor might be a common target for assassination, Southon also highlights an example of an emperor trying their hand at being a detective after a woman named Apronia,

"Commodus ended his reign by being strangled in the bath by a gladiator"



ABOVE Caligula's killers went on to kill his wife, Caesonia, and their daughter

LEFT While Nero committed suicide, it's believed that he asked for assistance in driving home the dagger

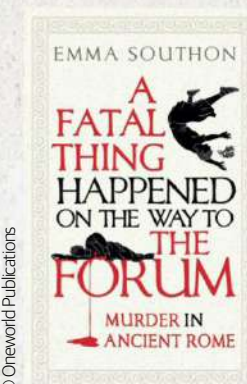
FAR-LEFT (INSET) Commodus proved difficult to kill, throwing up the poison he was originally given and then strangled by his wrestling partner

as previously mentioned, was killed and her husband, Plautius Silvanus was the prime suspect. Given the importance of the family, Emperor Tiberius took a personal interest in the case.

"[Silvanus] threw her out of a window, which is strange in itself as a method of murder, and left her body to be found so he could claim she fell out while he was asleep," reveals Southon. "Then the emperor Tiberius got personally involved and did a crime-scene investigation, an event so unique and unexpected that Silvanus hadn't even bothered to tidy up after the fight that ended with his wife being defenestrated. Tiberius found 'traces of resistance offered and force employed' and so Silvanus was carted off to face a trial. Before that trial happened, however, he stabbed himself with a dagger his grandmother sent him."

The question of motive in this remains a mystery, but there have been some suggestions. "All that is odd but there's no reason given by Tacitus for the murder, and a theory was developed by an Italian researcher that a couple of years before the murder Silvanus had been found guilty of sexually assaulting his son and that this might have been related to the murder," says Southon. "In addition, Silvanus's sister Urgulanilla was, at the time of the murder, married to the emperor Claudius, but he dramatically divorced her shortly afterwards on the basis of 'scandalous lewdness and murder' according to Suetonius. All of which tangles together to create the strange and mysterious suggestion of a horrible, possibly incestuous, sex and murder ring at the highest level of Roman society in the reign of Tiberius!"

It's fascinating to consider how differently the Romans thought about the legality and legitimacy of people killing one another and crime in general, as this example makes clear. For all of Rome's lauded civility there remained a dark and barbaric heart that seemingly could not be quelled. The value of life was simply thought about very differently in this era than we would hope for today. ○



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A Fatal Thing Happened On The Way To The Forum is available from 17 September 2020 from Oneworld Publications



Greatest Battles

BATTLE OF THE PYRAMIDS

EMBABA, EGYPT, 21 JULY 1798

Written by Marc G DeSantis

Between 1796-97, Napoleon Bonaparte proved himself to be one of the finest generals in the world. His successes in the Italian campaign had also cemented his close relationship with his men, who came to idolise him.

Napoleon was now tasked with carrying on the war against Great Britain. His blow against “perfidious Albion” would not land against the British Isles, however, but Egypt.

Upon his return from Italy, he had been given the command of France’s ‘Army of England’, a force assembled to carry out an invasion of Britain. But he had inspected his troops and found them wanting. An alternative was therefore needed, and this left the conquest of Egypt as a means of indirectly harming Britain. Only by capturing Egypt, Napoleon argued, could France “truly destroy England”.



In a painting by Antoine Jean Gros, Napoleon Bonaparte harangues his army before the Battle of the Pyramids begins

© Getty Images

A NEW ALEXANDER

When contemplating his venture to Egypt, Napoleon likened himself to Alexander the Great. He admired Alexander, seeing him as an enlightened conqueror who had brought the advanced Greek civilisation to the peoples of the 'backward' Persian Empire. Napoleon wished to bring the benefits of Western civilisation to Egypt, which he believed had been smothered for centuries under the weight of the stagnant and oppressive Ottomans.

Ensuring good relations with the Egyptians was important to Napoleon. He wanted to win them over and bring them into France's empire as peacefully as possible. His model, Alexander, had respected local customs of the lands that he conquered, and Napoleon intended to do the

same. While in Egypt, Napoleon would give strict orders to his men forbidding them from taking anything from the local people without the express permission of their commanding officers. As it turned out, however, the Egyptians would never accept their conquest by the French, seeing them as alien and non-Muslim invaders in their land.

For ten weeks, mountains of supplies and thousands of men were gathered at five Mediterranean ports. All told, some 38,000 men of Napoleon's 'Army of the Orient' were embarked at the various ports, and the convoys set sail in May 1798. Napoleon's own convoy of transports departed from Toulon on 19 May, guarded by a fleet under the command of Vice-Admiral Francois-Paul Brueys. Security had been kept so tight that the soldiers themselves had no idea where they were

headed. They were, nonetheless, willing to follow their brilliant general wherever he led them.

If the expeditionary fleet were to reach Egypt safely, it would first have to evade the Royal Navy that was hunting it. Britain's Mediterranean fleet was commanded by Rear Admiral Horatio Nelson, but he would not have much luck while waiting for the French convoy to depart from Toulon. He knew that it was to sail soon but on 21 May, a fierce storm pushed his own fleet far out to sea and dismantled his flagship, HMS Vanguard. By the time Nelson had made repairs, Napoleon had linked up with the other convoys.

Napoleon's ships made a landing in the Grand Harbour of Valletta in Malta on 10 June. The Knights of Malta had controlled the island for centuries, but the order had declined greatly since

its glory days. Many of the 327 knights present were older men incapable of fighting, while others were French and unwilling to fight. Napoleon had little trouble seizing the island, which surrendered on 11 June. He installed a garrison of 4,000 men and on 19 June set sail once more. He would not tell his men their true destination until long after they had left Malta behind.

On 1 July, at the fishing village of Marabout, eight kilometres to the west of Alexandria, Napoleon landed his troops and the city fell to him the next day. It was now that he gave out the official reason for his mission to Egypt, claiming that the ruling Mamluk beys ('bey' was the title of an Ottoman provincial governor) had been mistreating French merchants and he had come to secure reparations for the injuries done to them. He also pledged to free the native Egyptians from the tyrannical rule of the foreign Mamluks.

THE MAMLUKS

Egypt in 1798 was technically a province of the Ottoman Empire, but in practice imperial suzerainty over it was only notional. Real power in the land was held by the Mamluks, a warrior-aristocracy with their capital in Cairo that lorded over the fellahin, the much-oppressed Egyptian peasantry. The population of the country was primarily Muslim, with significant minorities of both Christians and Jews. Originally, the Mamluks had been brought to Egypt around 1230 by an Ayyubid sultan who wanted a soldiery more loyal than could be found among native troops. The Mamluks ('Mamluk' means 'bought man' in Arabic) were top-notch warriors, and by 1258 had seized power for themselves.

To sustain their numbers, they continued to purchase slaves to turn into future Mamluks. Egypt was conquered by the expanding Ottoman Empire in 1517, but the Mamluks, after submitting, had been left in place. Now owing fealty to the Sultan in Istanbul, they were obligated to pay an annual tribute to him. Over time, the bond with

the Ottomans weakened until the Mamluks were vassals in name only, and left largely to their own devices. Ottoman power in Egypt was upheld by the figurehead of the local pasha, to whom the Mamluks paid little heed.

The modern Mamluks of the late-18th century continued the practice of recruiting outside Egypt, buying youngsters mainly from among the Circassians and Georgians of the Caucasus. Once arrived in Egypt, the boys were brought up as Muslims, imbued with strict military discipline and trained in Mamluk fighting techniques. They were particularly renowned for their excellent cavalry and their horses were judged to be of especially high quality.

ON TO CAIRO

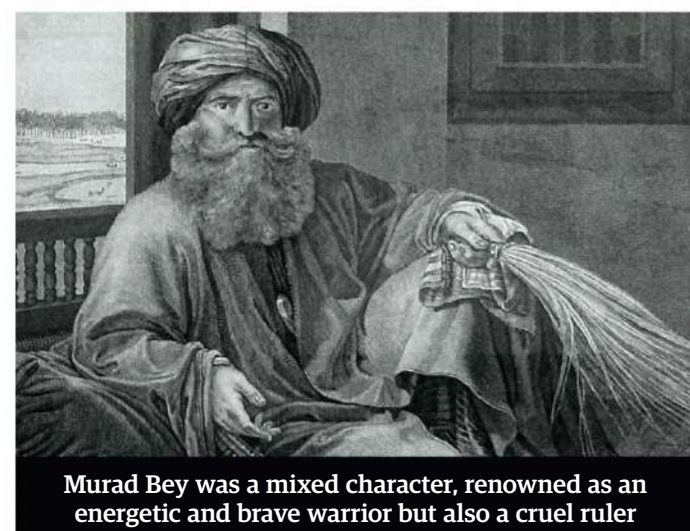
To win Egypt, Napoleon would have to seek out and defeat the Mamluk beys in Cairo. The southward march on the capital began on 3 July, with the division of General Louis-Charles Desaix in the lead, to be followed over the next few days by the other four divisions of the army. Sailing upstream on a parallel course along the Nile was a tiny flotilla of riverine craft under Captain Jean-Baptiste Perrée.

Napoleon decided that the journey was to be made overland, as this was a shorter and faster straight-line route. This also meant that the Army of the Orient was at times marching through true wilderness. At other times the soldiers moved through sections of agricultural land crossed by numerous irrigation ditches.

The daytime heat was almost unbearable, and the discomfort of the French was exacerbated by the lack of drinking water. They also encountered a curious phenomenon while in the desert. It appeared to them that, in the distance, the land was inundated with water, only for them to soon discover that this was not so.

This was their first encounter with the illusion known as a mirage.

To add to French misery, the



Murad Bey was a mixed character, renowned as an energetic and brave warrior but also a cruel ruler

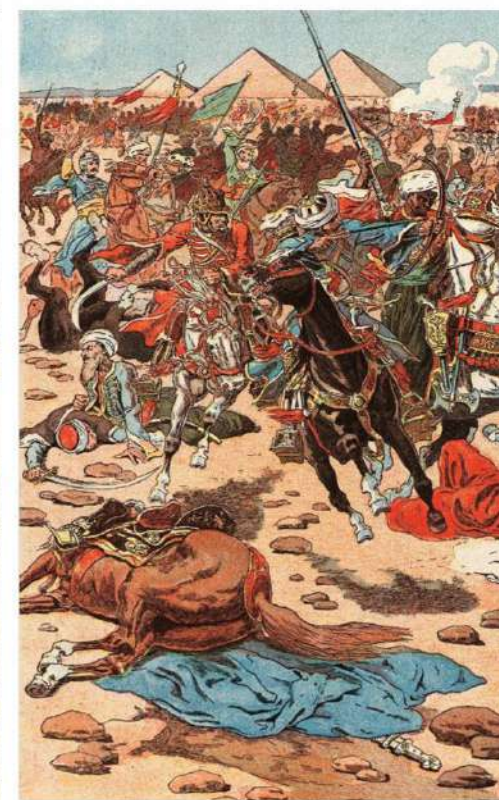
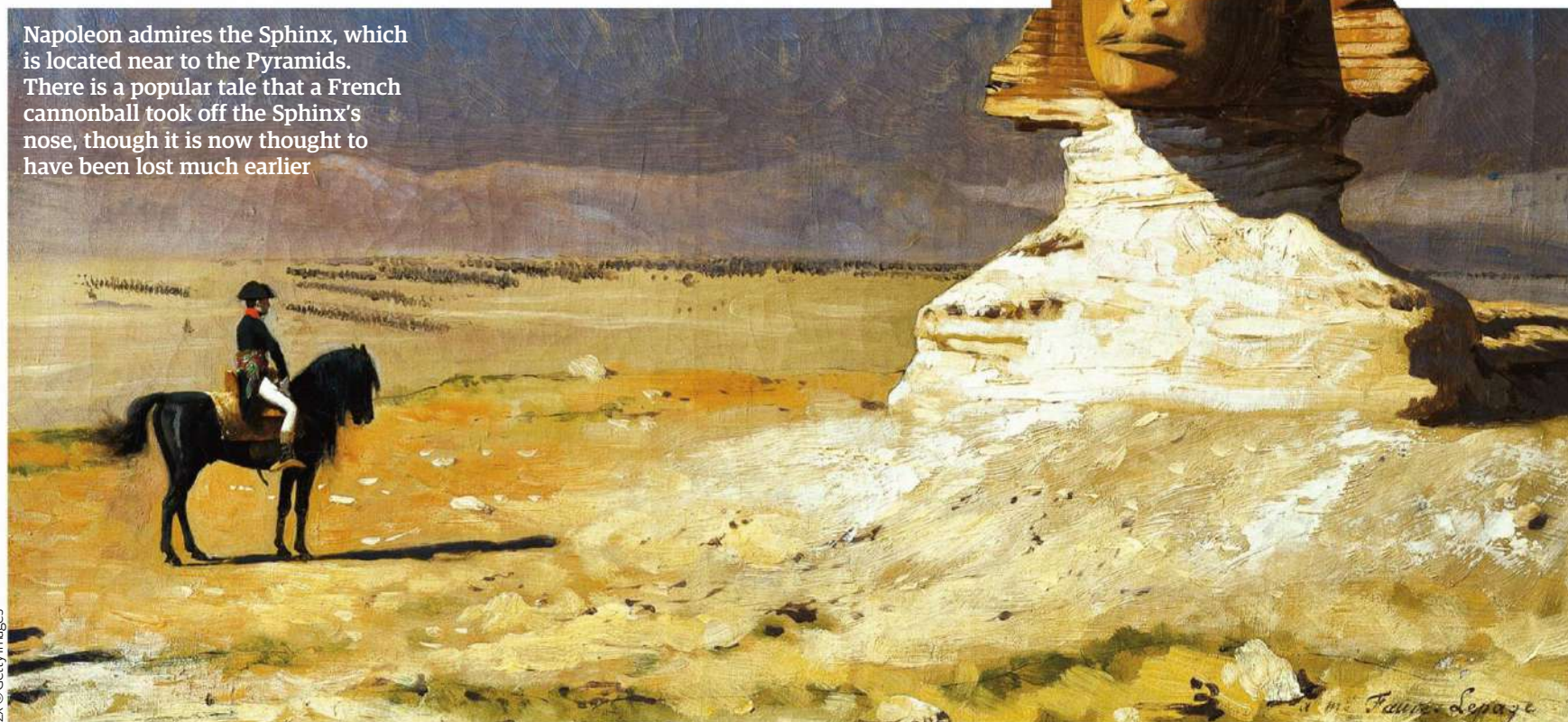
soldiers were harried mercilessly by flies and other insects. The men were desperately thirsty as they marched, finding relief only occasionally, such as when they came across a field studded with watermelons and gobbled up the succulent, water-rich fruits. Devouring so much watermelon relieved the parched men of their thirst, but it also had the unfortunate side effect of giving them vicious bouts of diarrhoea.

By 10 July, the five divisions had rendezvoused at El Ramaniyah, with Perrée's river flotilla arriving the next day. Intelligence reports came to Napoleon that one of the two Mamluk co-rulers of Egypt, Murad Bey, was moving north from Cairo along the Nile's western bank with a small force of 3,000 Mamluk horsemen and 2,000 infantry attendants.

Murad was renowned for his ferocity and bravery. A contemporary Egyptian historian, Abd-al-Rahman al-Jabarti, wrote of him that he was "cruel and unjust, entertaining and conceited" and that he surrounded himself with men who were "hard, brave and cruel". When he learned of the French invasion he asked if they were mounted. Napoleon in fact had little cavalry with him and when told that the French army was on foot, Murad growled, "My men will destroy them and I will slice open their heads like watermelons in the fields."

Murad held a council with Ibrahim Bey, his colleague in governing Egypt. They quickly

Napoleon admires the Sphinx, which is located near to the Pyramids. There is a popular tale that a French cannonball took off the Sphinx's nose, though it is now thought to have been lost much earlier



called up their troops, with Murad departing to meet Napoleon's men at Shubra Kit, where a small skirmish was fought on 13 July. Arraying their infantry in six-deep squares with artillery set at the corners and a cloud of tirailleurs (skirmishing sharpshooters) surrounding them, the French were able to fend off the Mamluk cavalry.

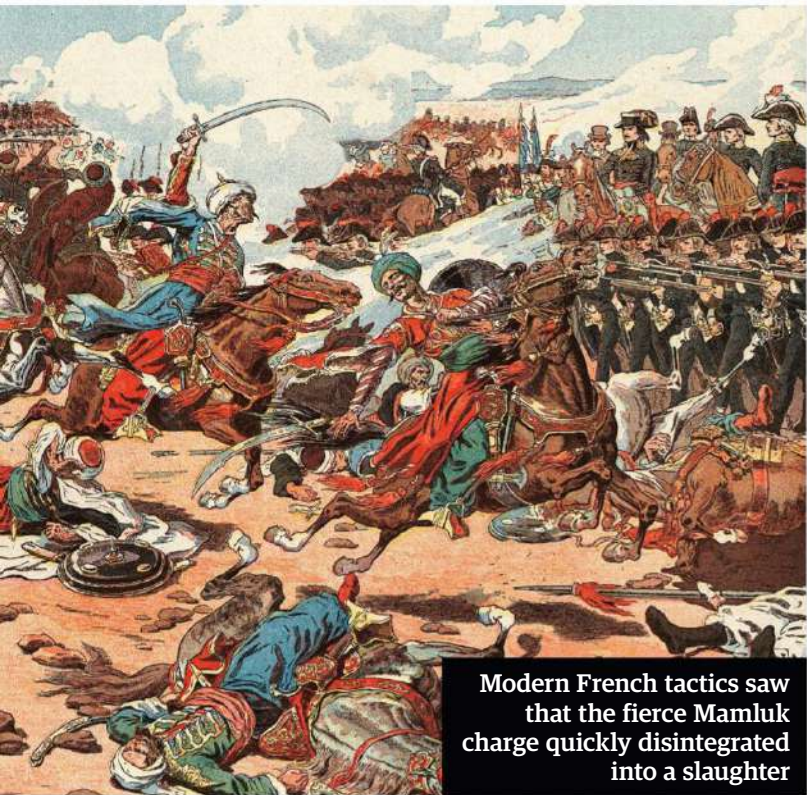
There were few casualties on either side, and Murad retreated faster than Napoleon could chase after him. After a long march, the French caught up with Murad on 20 July. He had gathered 6,000 Mamluk horsemen, 15,000 Egyptian infantry and 3,000 Bedouins. Murad placed his artillery, perhaps 40 cannon or so, within Embaba, together with a strong force of Ottoman Janissaries and fellahin militia. He also deployed a flotilla on the Nile under the command of a Christian Greek, Nikola, to oppose the further progress of Perrée's squadron up the river.

BATTLE OF THE PYRAMIDS

On the eastern side of the river, Ibrahim had 1,000 Mamluk cavalry, some artillery and a few thousand infantry. Napoleon would here benefit from Murad's impetuous nature. Instead of crossing over to the eastern (Cairo-side) bank of the Nile to join his forces with those of Ibrahim, he rashly confronted the French on his own on the western side. Napoleon would have had a much more difficult time of it if he had been compelled to make an opposed river crossing to get to grips with the full Mamluk army.

Napoleon arranged his five divisions in a line, with each forming a square as at Shubra Khit. Desaix's division was set on the extreme right flank; beside this was General Jean-Louis Ebenezer Reynier's division. That of General Charles Dugua was in the middle of the line, with General Honoré Vial's division beside his. On the far left, anchoring the French line on the Nile in front of Embaba, was the division of General Louis André Bon.

Desaix attempted an enveloping move around Murad's left flank. Seeing this, Murad quickly



Modern French tactics saw that the fierce Mamluk charge quickly disintegrated into a slaughter

THE FRENCH



Image source: wiki/The York Project

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

With this invasion of Egypt, Napoleon hoped to test his men ahead of the inevitable battle with the British, as well as test himself against the feats of his military idol Alexander the Great. When he finally returned to France it was to a hero's welcome.



Image source: wiki/National Maritime Museum

BATTLE OF THE NILE

Just a month after Napoleon's success in Egypt he would suffer a reversal, but not at the hands of the Mamluks. Admiral Nelson finally caught up with the French fleet in Aboukir Bay on 1 August and broke it by the following morning, cutting Napoleon off from France.

THE MAMLUKS



Image source: wiki/Revue Gloire et Empire

MURAD BEY

Joint-ruler of Egypt and renowned cavalry commander, Murad was in charge of military affairs for the Mamluks, and along with Ibrahim Bey was in control of Egypt despite the appointment of an Ottoman governor. He survived this battle and died in 1800 of bubonic plague.



Image source: wiki/V&A

IBRAHIM BEY

In charge of administration, Ibrahim was the other key leader of the Mamluks in this period. He would fight Napoleon a second time at Heliopolis. This brought his reign to an end and, while he survived a Mamluk massacre in 1811, he is thought to have died in 1816 or 1817.



Image source: wiki/William M. Sloane

CAVALRY

The cavalry of the Mamluks had a long history that could be traced back to the 13th century in service of the Ottoman Empire. While heavily armed with multiple guns and swords, their tactical approach ultimately proved to be too simplistic to cause much harm to Napoleon's formations.

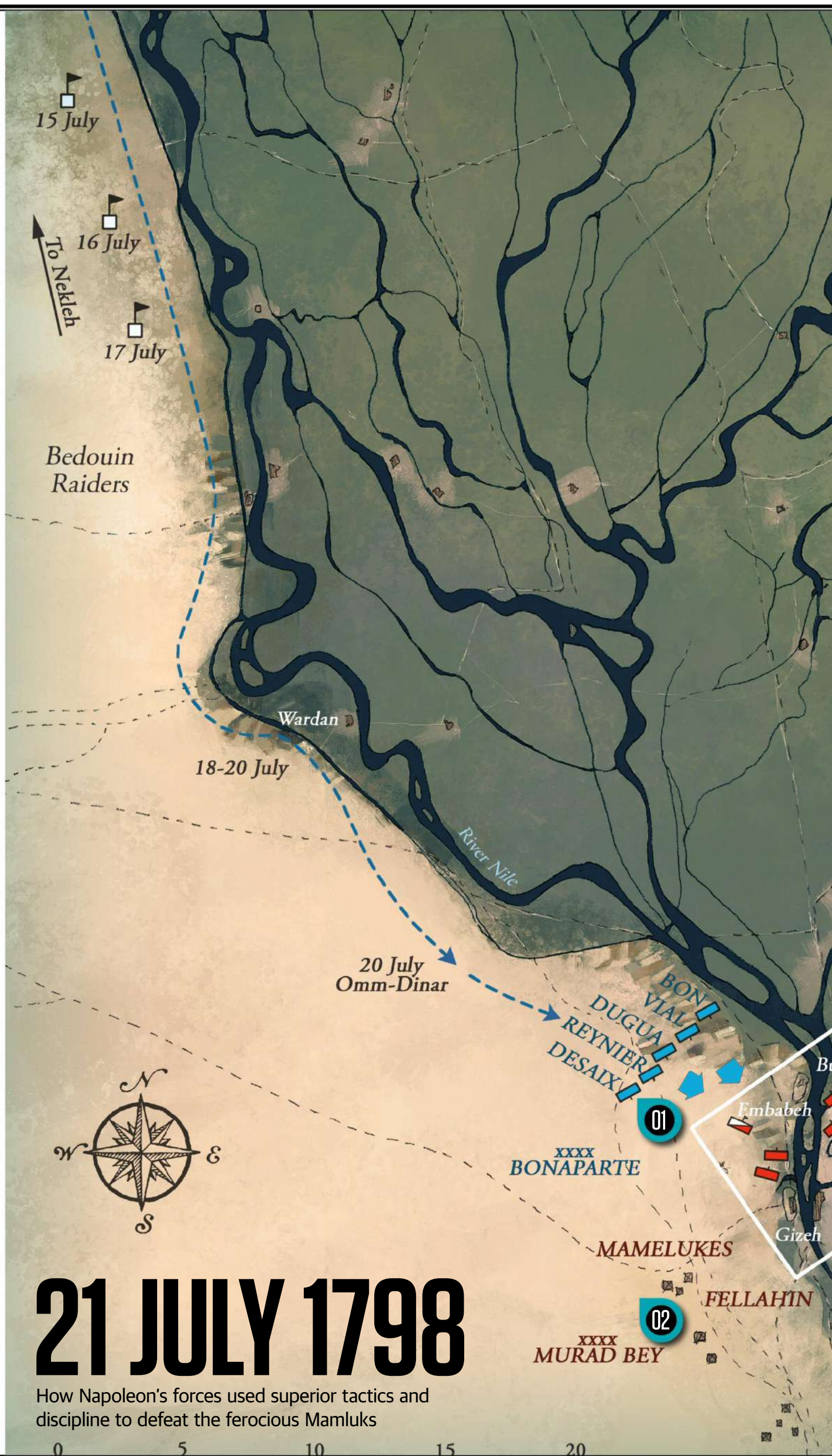
charged the division with an enormous force of galloping horseman. Desaix's square had fallen out of formation as it pressed forward over irrigation canals and through clusters of palm trees. Just as his men had climbed up from a canal, they saw the glittering Mamluk cavalry bearing down on them. A Mamluk horseman was a veritable arsenal, with each carrying a carbine, two or three pistols, a lance and a scimitar of razor-sharp Damascus steel. The French scarcely had time to reform their lines before the Mamluks fired their carbines and discharged their pistols, tossing the latter aside to be picked up by their infantry attendants running behind them. Still the French held their fire, waiting until the Mamluks had closed to point-blank range before they opened up on the enemy.

The French volley tore through the Mamluks, blasting riders clear out of their saddles. The scimitar-wielding horsemen continued to attack, making repeated assaults on Desaix's square. The Mamluks were very brave, but their Medieval tactics were not up to the challenge of contending with the disciplined French squares. The bodies of the slain began to pile up around the squares as the day wore on, but the French remained resolute. It was imperative that they hold steady – to break would allow the Mamluks to charge within their disordered lines and slaughter them.

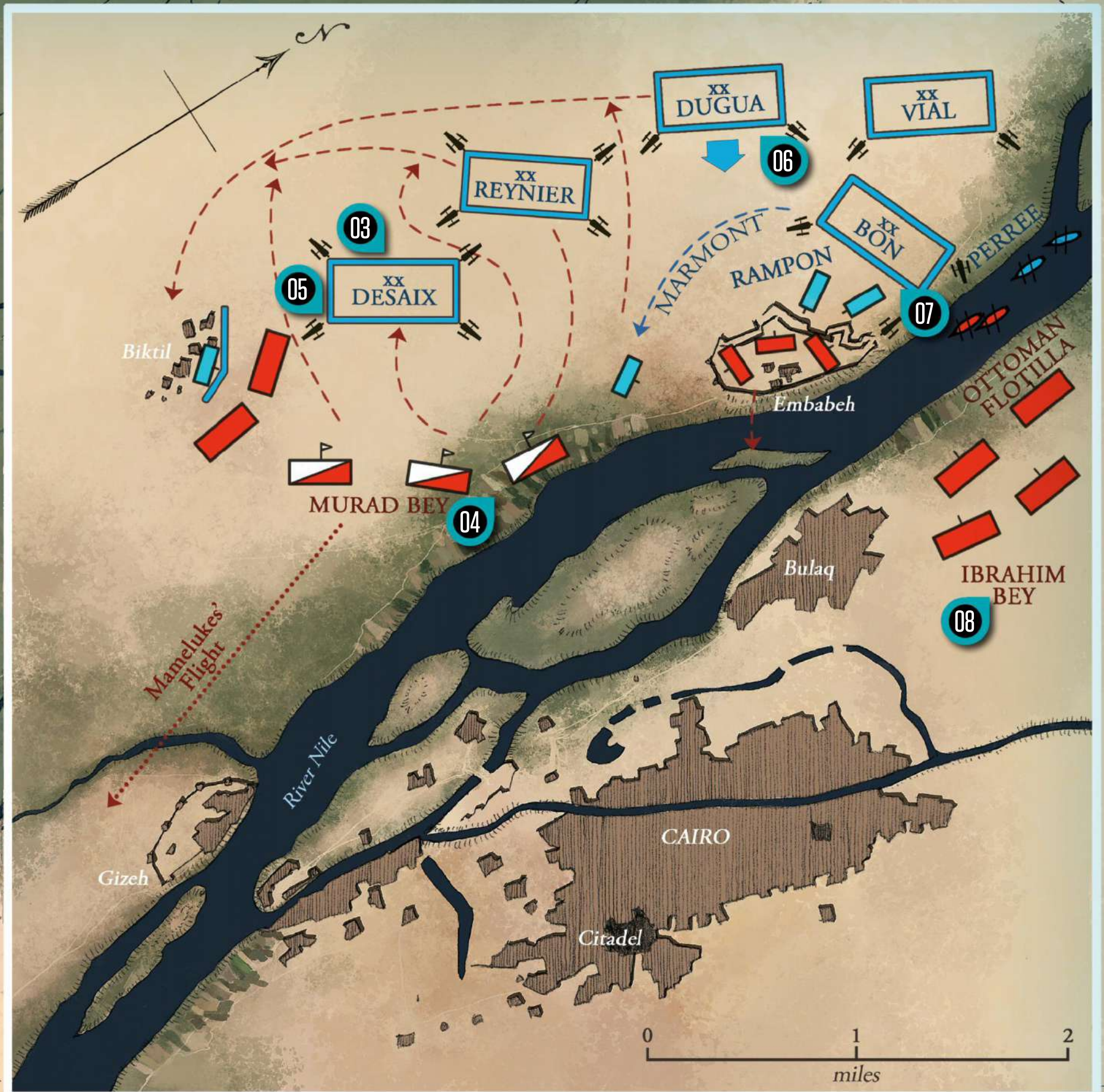
The Mamluks continued to assail the French squares, but could make no impression. Struck by fire from all sides, they retreated. On his left, Napoleon ordered an assault on the enemy positions in Embaba. The cavalry of the Mamluk right, which had not yet been involved in the fighting, made a charge against the oncoming French. They could do little against Bon's square, and with their route back partially obstructed by Vial's division, they retreated into Embaba. A general attack was then launched by Bon and Vial against Embaba, where the Ottoman Janissaries and fellahin militia were stationed. These positions were taken by storm. Murad and the surviving Mamluk cavalry, about 3,000 or so, fled the field and made for their strongholds further south.

Along the Nile, all was chaos. Ibrahim tried to cross to come to the aid of Murad, but his boats became tangled up with those of some of Murad's men who were trying to escape to the eastern bank. A heavy wind came up suddenly and ended any chance of getting over to help the Mamluks already engaged against the French. With the battle clearly lost, Ibrahim, with the Ottoman pasha in tow, escaped from Cairo.

In about two hours, Napoleon had trounced the Mamluk army. Cairo was his, and he would spend the night in Murad's palace on the Nile. French losses were small, just 29 dead and about 260 wounded, while Mamluk losses were far heavier, around 2,000 horsemen slain along with a few thousand of the fellahin. Ever-conscious of his image, Napoleon would name his victory not after the village of Embaba, where the fighting took place, but after the more distant Pyramids, sensing that it would make for a grander legacy.



Battle Of The Pyramids



01 The French form squares

Before dawn, the five French infantry divisions form squares and march out of camp. Around 2pm, they come upon the Nile, and with the Pyramids visible in the distance, Napoleon addresses his troops. "Forty centuries of history look down upon you," he roars in encouragement.

05 The French hold firm

The Mamluks make repeated charges against Desaix's and General Reynier's squares but are repelled each time by disciplined French musketry. Mamluk cavalymen are knocked out of their saddles and their brilliantly-coloured clothes are set afire.

02 The Mamluks prepare for battle

On the other side of the field, Mamluk commander Murad Bey has drawn up his Mamluk cavalry and thousands of fellahin infantry. His artillery and some additional infantry are placed in the village of Embaba on the western bank of the Nile. Numerous spectators watch from the eastern bank.

06 Mamluks charge Dugua's square

The Mamluks now charge the square of General Dugua in the centre of the French line but are caught in a murderous crossfire and retreat to Embaba. Napoleon orders an attack on Mamluk positions in Embaba.

03 Desaix's flanking move

General Desaix's division on the French right tries to flank Murad, but struggles to cross irrigation canals as it marches. Murad's elite Mamluk horsemen counter-charge Desaix's infantry, firing their carbines and pistols into the massed French ranks.

07 Attack on Embaba

The Mamluk right before Embaba counter-charges the oncoming French square of General Bon, but fails to stop it, and retreats into Embaba. Bon and General Vial now mount a general assault on the Mamluks, Janissaries and fellahin in the village, which is taken by storm.

04 The Mamluks charge Desaix

Desaix's men manage, just barely, to climb out of the irrigation ditches as the Mamluks are about to fall upon them. Waiting until the last moment, the French infantry open up with their muskets on the hard-charging Mamluks.

08 River crossing fails

Ibrahim Bey, on the eastern side of the Nile, attempts to cross to come to the aid of Murad on the western bank, but fails. Murad's Mamluks flee the battlefield and retreat south. The battle ends around 4.30pm. French losses are light, while Mamluk losses number as many as 3,000 cavalry and several thousand infantry.



CHARLES LINDBERGH HAD RUN FOR PRESIDENT?

Could a fascist really have run for the presidency of the United States in 1940 and won?

Written by Callum McKelvie

INTERVIEW WITH



CANDACE FLEMING

Candace Fleming is a bestselling author whose work spans many genres. She has written numerous children's books such as *Boxes For Katie* and *Muncha! Muncha! Muncha!* as well as non-fiction titles including *Presenting Buffalo Bill*. Her latest book, *The Rise And Fall Of Charles Lindbergh*, was published earlier this year.

Who was Charles Lindbergh?

Charles Lindbergh became famous in 1927 when he became the first man to fly across the Atlantic from New York to Paris. Suddenly, out of nowhere dropped this 25-year-old who was an incredibly brave pilot. And he had this crazy idea for getting across the ocean: he stripped all excess weight out of his aeroplane because the less weight the more fuel he could carry. Basically, what remained was a kite. With fuel. It was called the Spirit Of St Louis and he flew it across the Atlantic in 33½ hours. When he landed he became a worldwide hero, particularly in the US.

Folks, especially in the 1920s, were feeling disillusioned about heroes and society as a whole. Now, all of a sudden, here was this wholesome, handsome young man who didn't smoke or drink. Americans saw in him not just a hero, but almost a superman. The kidnap and murder of his two-year-old son Charles Jr in 1932 added another layer to the hero. Now, not only was Lindbergh a great American hero who was wholesome, moral and upstanding, but he was now also a tragic figure. Americans love those.

What were his political views like up to 1940?

He had a really good mind but his politics were formed more by experience than academia. He was a staunch eugenicist through the 1930s, and he worked with a man named Dr Alexis Carrel, who wrote a book called *Man The*

Unknown, which laid out his extreme views about eugenics, things like: "the white race is drowning in a sea of inferiors" and "only the elite make the progress of the masses possible". It was time with Carrel that worked to form Lindbergh's untrained mind. Lindbergh bought into all Carrel's rot.

They disparaged others who they believed threatened America's "racial strength", such as Russians, Jews, Asians and southern Europeans. Then, in the spring of 1936, Lindbergh had an opportunity to go to Hitler's Germany to take a look at the Luftwaffe. In the few weeks he was there he became infatuated with how efficient and modern it was. He believed Hitler was the best thing that could've happened to Europe, even calling Hitler a "visionary". By 1938, many people in the US and abroad suspected he was pro-Nazi.

What was Lindbergh's stance on World War II?

When he returned to the United States in 1939, he firmly believed Germany was saving Europe. He also saw it as Europe's mess and wanted the United States to stay out of it, with one exception. If the United States was going to join Germany in its fight against the Russians and Japanese (what he deemed "lesser races"), that would have been something he found acceptable. Nowadays, some think of him an isolationist. He wasn't. He was only isolationist in regard to the United States fighting *against* Nazi Germany. If, however, the US joined the war on the side Nazi Germany, that would have been a different thing. And as for the war in the Pacific, he was all about that. When America did enter the war in 1941, he was blackballed by the Roosevelt administration. He wasn't

RIGHT Lindbergh examining a Messerschmitt fighter at a factory near Munich



© Getty Images

Main image sources: 2x © Getty Images, © Alamy

CARRY ON



with



CHARLES

RO

LT

THE PAST

1927

FLIGHT ACROSS THE ATLANTIC

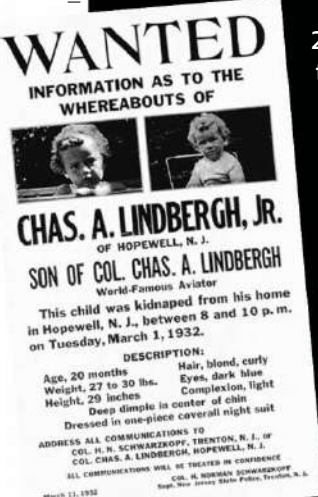
When Lindbergh left college he became a 'barnstormer', a daredevil stunt pilot who would appear at fairs. Joining the US Army Air Corps, he graduated first in his class and became an airmail pilot. Since 1919, a contest to fly across the Atlantic had been arranged by hotel owner Raymond Orteig with a prize of \$25,000 to the winner. Opting not to include a parachute and more fuel instead, Lindbergh successfully flew some 3,600 miles in 33½ hours.

1932

LINDBERGH KIDNAPPING

At 9pm on the evening of 1 March 1932, two-year-old Charles Lindbergh Jr was taken from the family home. An hour later his disappearance was discovered and a ransom note for \$50,000 was found. A massive police investigation was launched and on 9 March Dr John F Condon (a retired school principal) began to work as a go-between on behalf of the Lindberghs. For months Condon negotiated and delivered payments to the kidnapper until on 2 April he was informed that the child could be found on a boat in Massachusetts.

The child was not there and on 12 May his partially decomposed body was discovered, having been killed by a blow to the skull two months earlier. The kidnapper would later be caught and executed by electric chair in 1936.



1940

ROOSEVELT'S VICTORY

Franklin Delano Roosevelt's decision to seek a third term in office was one of the most important presidential victories in American history. Defying the two-term tradition set by George Washington, Roosevelt ran against the Republican candidate Wendell Willkie, who was opposed to American intervention in the war. Roosevelt won comfortably with 54.8% of the popular vote and 84.5% of the electoral college.



ABOVE-LEFT

One of the America First Committee's rallies, attended by about 10,000 people

ABOVE-RIGHT

An America First Committee propaganda poster

allowed to rejoin the Air Corps or enter military service at all. FDR viewed Lindbergh as a Nazi sympathizer and he wasn't allowed to fight. Eventually, he got himself to the South Pacific through other channels and flew against the Japanese. You can see, though, that he was definitely not an isolationist. Sadly, post-war his opinions didn't change. He did a lot of apologizing but he never outright said, "You know, I was wrong about eugenics. I was wrong about Hitler. My political stance was not grounded in fact." Instead, Lindbergh didn't quite understand why people were so angry about his views.

Who were the America First Committee?

America First was formed by a group of college students. They were isolationists who truly did not want to repeat of World War I. It grew rapidly and became a popular national organisation with thousands of members. America First was made up of Americans from all walks of life who wanted to keep the US out of the war in both Europe and the Pacific. But as time passed, many Americans began to see the gravity of the situation in Europe. They moved away from America First and began supporting FDR's efforts to provide Britain with the war materials she needed to defend herself from the Germans. The vacuum left by their departure was quickly filled by racists, eugenicists, Nazi sympathizers and anti-

Semites. This is when Lindbergh became the face of America First. By 1940 he'd become louder and more strident about not fighting Germany. The things that came out of his mouth were virulently anti-Semitic. He accused American Jews of forcing America into a war. He called them "others" and implied that they weren't real Americans. Wonderfully, Americans didn't stand for it. In 1941, he gave a particularly anti-Semitic speech in Des Moines, Iowa. Millions of people listened in on the radio and the next morning Americans turned on him. Men stood up in Congress and called it the most anti-American talk they'd ever heard, and newspapers called him out on their front pages. He really got publicly smacked around. Three months later, Pearl Harbor was attacked and the United States entered the war. America First was disbanded and Lindbergh disappeared from the public stage - at least for a while.

What do you think a 1940 Lindbergh presidential campaign could have looked like?

It would have been big, loud and nationalistic. He would've flown himself to his rallies because people would've loved that, and those rallies would have been big and wild, maybe a little violent. They would have been broadcast coast-to-coast on the radio so he would have reached a wide audience. What would he have stood for? Policy-wise, he would have advocated no war with Germany,

but definitely with Japan. He would have promised voters a more friendly relationship with Nazi Germany. In his published journals Lindbergh writes about making way for white men and reserving nations solely for white men, so I'm sure his campaign would have reflected this. He probably would've used America First as a slogan, but changed its meaning. In Lindbergh's campaign, American First would have meant white America first, and my guess is he'd have promised policies to back up the slogan. What kind of policies? Stopping immigration into the country, building a wall along the borders (he actually did advocate this, calling them "ramparts"), building up the military, curtailing the freedom of the press, and the voluntary sterilisation of those deemed 'genetically unfit'.

Could he have won in 1940?

Americans were becoming a little less isolationist at this point. But Lindbergh was so popular - a great American hero and a superstar celebrity - and Americans love 'celebrities'. We tend to elect them without much regard for their knowledge, experience or ability. FDR, of course, was popular too, but not as popular as he had been in previous elections. Lindbergh would have been

"There's no way a President Lindbergh would have provided war aid to Britain"

a formidable opponent. I think there's a very good chance he could have won the presidency.

What would have been the impact of Lindbergh as president?

His policies would definitely have kept America out of war in Europe, and they would have been policies that did not help Britain. If Britain had been left unaided, I think Germany would have eventually taken her. No way would a President Lindbergh have provided any sort of aid to Britain - no materials, ships or arms. Certainly not man power. He saw Britain as part of the problem and even blamed it in his America First speeches for causing the war. So he definitely would not have created policies, as FDR did, to help Britain. In fact, I think he would have formed policies that aided Germany, perhaps even that formed a trade alliance between Germany and the United States.

As for American Jews, I don't know. He blamed Jews for causing the problems but he did not agree with the Nazis' approach. So I don't think he would have rounded up America's Jews. Still, I doubt he would have done anything to help Europe's Jews. He would have stated that what happens in Germany is their business. A President Lindbergh could have changed the course of history in a really big way. Britain would have lost the war and Germany would've been America's economic ally. And in the United States, fascism would have taken hold. Remember, Lindbergh thought Hitler was a visionary and his wife Anne called fascism "the wave of the future". I think he would've imported some of those things he found impressive about Nazi Germany to the United States. Number-one, there would have been no free press under a Lindbergh presidency. He believed that the press sowed chaos and didn't tell the truth. He would have locked the press down and he would have clamped down on protesters too because he believed they sowed chaos. If there was one thing that Lindbergh loved about Germany it was its efficiency, regimentation and discipline. So those are all things I know for sure he would have attempted to implement had he become president.

BELOW

Lindbergh (centre) gives a 'Bellamy salute' to the American flag

BOTTOM

Lindbergh is entertained by Hermann Goering during his visit to Nazi Germany



5x © Getty Images

THE POSSIBILITY

1941

LEND-LEASE

As well as not joining the war, it's highly unlikely that had Lindbergh run for and won the presidency in 1940 that the Lend-Lease programme or something similar would have been instigated. Following Roosevelt's victory, in 1941 Winston Churchill appealed directly to the president requesting support, which initially led to the USA providing 50 navy destroyers in return for 99-year leases on British bases in the Caribbean and Newfoundland. However, soon more support was requested and so Roosevelt designed a programme that allowed the United States to lend or lease war supplies to any nation deemed to be "vital to the defence of the United States". Certainly, this programme would not have developed under Lindbergh and it's doubtful how long Britain would have been able to hold off Nazi Germany without this or other support.

1942

NO MORE FREE PRESS?

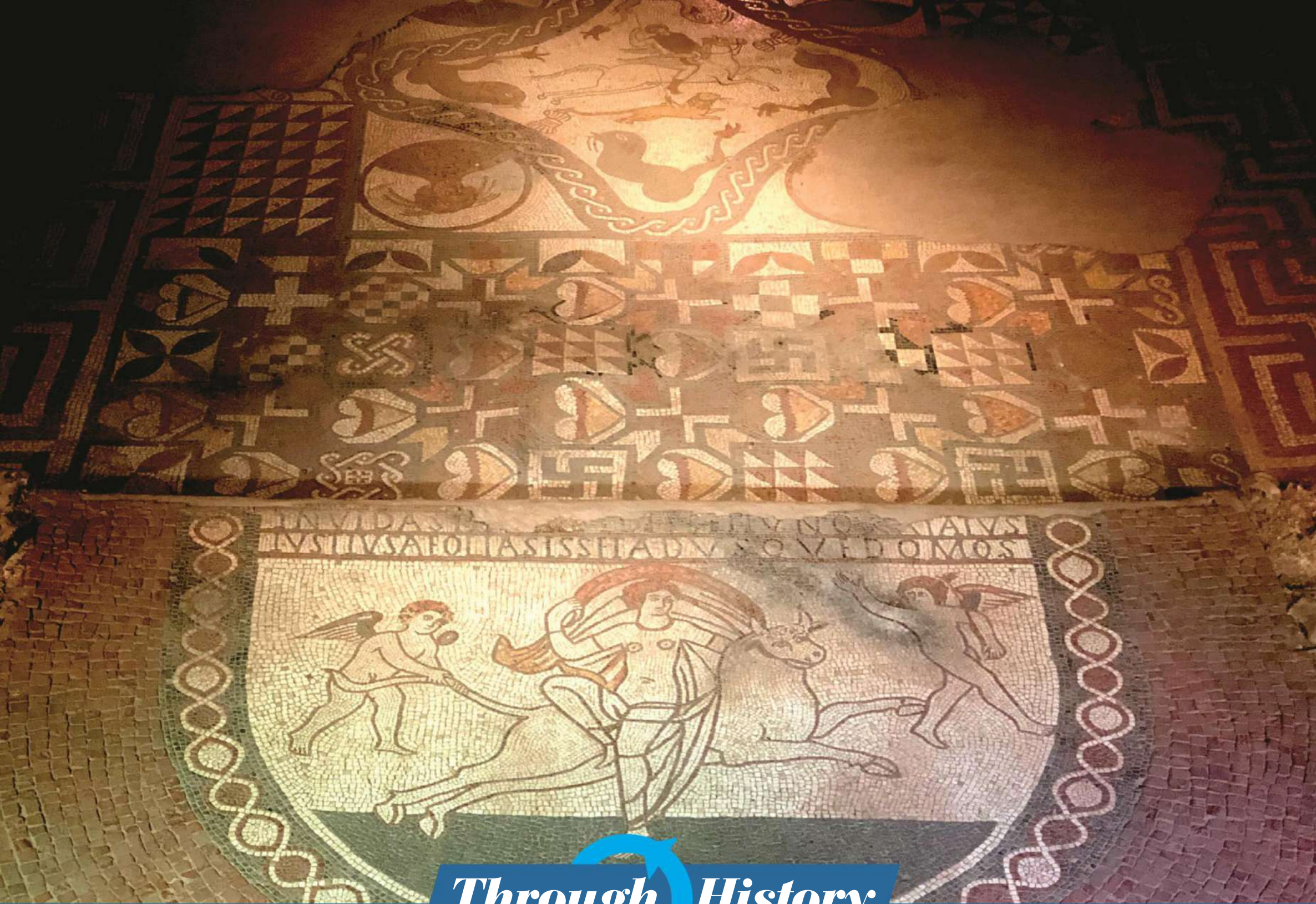
Lindbergh had a mixed relationship with the media. Initially, it was responsible for making him a worldwide sensation but following the death of his son at the hands of a kidnapper, the resulting media circus had a lasting impact. The perpetrator's attorney was paid for by media baron William Randolph Hearst's papers in return for exclusive story rights, and people even sold miniature souvenir 'Lindbergh Ladders', mimicking the one that was used during the kidnapping. This led to a deep loathing for the media within Lindbergh, and a more controlled media must have appealed to him.



1945

AMERICA FIRST

The America First Committee disbanded only three days after Pearl Harbor. In recent years, the phrase 'America First' has taken on a new meaning and has even been used by Donald Trump. Had the organisation continued it's impossible to say how we would view that phrase today.



Through History

ROMAN TREASURES OF BRITAIN

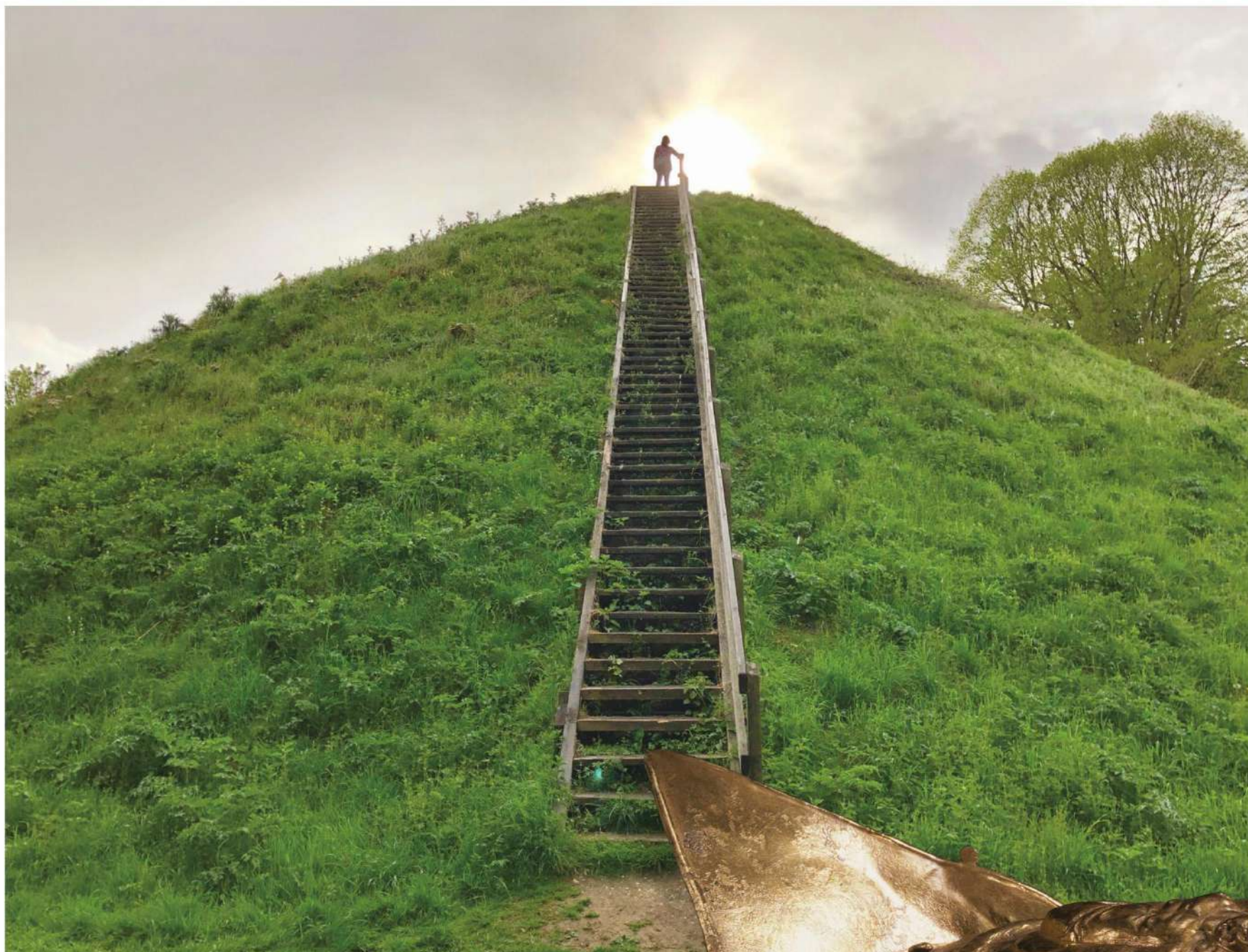
Digging deep to uncover the forgotten Roman ruins of the British Isles

The relationship of the Roman Empire with Britain is long and detailed: from 55 BCE, when Julius Caesar first saw a land rich for conquest, to 410 when Emperor Honorius left the islands to fend for themselves against invaders. The centuries of Roman occupation mean it's little wonder that remnants can be seen throughout the entire country. Of course, many of these sites are well-known,

such as Chedworth Roman Villa or the Roman Baths in the city of the same name - but others have lain forgotten.

Denise Allen and Mike Bryan's *Roman Britain And Where To Find It*, out 15 September from Amberley Publishing, aims to "tell you where to find all the bits of Roman Britain where there is still something to see". The book highlights sites that are still visible and accessible to the

public and provides 'star ratings' to demonstrate how much remains to be seen. Details are also provided on opening times and websites for anybody wishing to visit a particular site. From museums to ruins, fortresses, Hadrian's Wall and many lesser-known sites, the book is a must-have for anyone with an interest in the 350 years of Roman occupation that left an indelible mark on the British Isles.



BARTLOW HILLS

▶ The largest surviving burial mounds in western Europe, the Bartlow Hills in Cambridgeshire are vast to behold. Mound four (pictured here) is some 50ft tall and is one of seven. The mounds were extensively excavated but unfortunately many of the finds perished in a fire at Eaton Lodge in the mid-19th century.

CAVALRY HELMET

▶ The National Museum Of Scotland contains, among a number of Roman artefacts, an iron cavalry helmet found in a 1st-century pit in Newstead. Only a small number of these helmets have been found in Britain, with three coming from the Newstead site.

ROMAN Lighthouse

▶ The Roman lighthouse at Dover is the only one in Britain, and one of just three in the world. Much of the structure's survival is due to the fact that it was used as a free-standing bell tower for the Saxon church that stands next to it.



Image source: National Museum of Scotland

CARDIFF CASTLE

▶ Cardiff Castle is a structure that has changed much over the centuries, most notably when the Marquess of Bute adorned its central mansion with gargoyles and gothic furnishings. The Marquess also rebuilt the surrounding wall from the surviving Roman examples and reconstructed them to match their former glory.



HADRIAN'S WALL

▶ Built on the orders of Emperor Hadrian in 122 CE, the 73-mile wall between the River Tyne and Solway Firth kept the ferocious natives to the north at bay. Much can still be seen, with Housesteads Fort being particularly well-preserved.



BATH HOUSE BENEATH THE A1

▶ The Welwyn Roman Baths are a hidden gem, secreted deep underneath the A1 road inside a steel vault (which is a marvel all of itself). The baths are a fine example of the smaller domestic bath houses built by the Romans as opposed to the grander public ones.





Image source: Leeds Museum and Galleries - Bridgeman Images

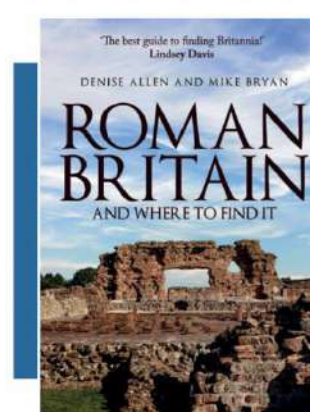


ROMAN LEAD PIG

◀ This lead ingot, also known as a 'pig', was possibly mislaid while being transported from a mine in the Mendip Hills. The stamp *IMP VESPASIAN AVG* shows it was made during the reign of Emperor Vespasian (69-79 CE). It's on display at The Museum Of Somerset in Taunton.

WOLF SUCKLING ROMULUS AND REMUS

▲ This elaborate mosaic shows the mythical twins Romulus and Remus being suckled by the wolf who was said to have raised them following their attempted murder as children. The boys were said to have founded city of Rome. The mosaic can be seen at the Leeds City Museum.



Roman Britain And Where To Find It
is out 15 September from Amberley Publishing

REVIEWS

The books, TV shows and films causing a stir in the history world this month



HAMILTON: AN AMERICAN MUSICAL

A powerful and subversive musical about America's forgotten Founding Father

Certificate: 12+ **Director:** Thomas Kail **Distributor:** Disney+ **Cast:** Lin-Manuel Miranda, Phillipa Soo **Released:** Out now

Since making its Off-Broadway debut in February 2015, *Hamilton* has taken the world by storm, winning several awards including 11 Tony Awards and seven Olivier Awards. And while the hit show is usually sold-out for months on end, it's now available to stream in the comfort of our homes thanks to Disney+.

This critically acclaimed musical tells the story of Founding Father Alexander Hamilton, the first United States secretary of the treasury who - among his many important contributions - took the lead in developing the nation's banking system. Yet despite this, Hamilton has been all but forgotten in popular memory, overshadowed by figures like George Washington and Thomas Jefferson.

Lin-Manuel Miranda, who wrote the book, music and lyrics for the musical and stars as the titular character, was inspired to bring Hamilton's story to life after reading Ron Chernow's epic biography *Alexander Hamilton*. Split into two acts, the show charts Hamilton's emigration from the Caribbean island of Nevis

to America, his rise during the American War of Independence and then his involvement in building the nation's first government.

In the process, we watch as Hamilton becomes a trusted advisor of Washington while earning himself some powerful enemies, notably Jefferson and Aaron Burr, who would eventually become Jefferson's vice president. At the same time Hamilton meets and falls in love with Eliza, whom he marries, becomes embroiled in one of America's first sex scandals and suffers the loss of his eldest child, Philip, who is fatally shot in a duel.

However, this musical does so much more than just depicting the highs and lows of Hamilton's life. It speaks to politics, race and immigration in America, all of which are driven home by the fact that the show has a predominantly non-white cast. Indeed, the biggest applause of the show arrives when Hamilton and the French Marquis de Lafayette agree that, "immigrants, we get the job done."

Even though the show tackles serious issues, it's balanced with humour - who would have

thought they would see Hamilton and Jefferson having a rap battle in front of Washington?

Of course, all of this is supported with songs influenced by jazz, hip hop and rap that are so catchy they'll stay in your head for days on end.

The entire cast is brilliant, but a special mention has to go to King George III, played by Jonathan Groff. The king provides some of the show's funniest moments, particularly as he sardonically sings *You'll Be Back*, believing that the American colonists will come back to Britain once their rebellion fails.

So, does *Hamilton* live up to the hype? Most certainly. From an historical point of view, it's a good starting point for those who know little about the American fight for independence and the founding of the United States. It remains as groundbreaking and relevant as it did when it debuted five years ago, especially in light of the current Black Lives Matter movement. As Miranda explains, Hamilton is "a story of America then told by America now". **JL**



Reviews by
 Callum McKelvie, Jessica Leggett, Jonathan Gordon, Catherine Curzon

THE INFILTRATORS

A love big enough to bring down the Third Reich?

Author Norman Ohler **Publisher** Atlantic Books **Price** £20 **Released** Out now

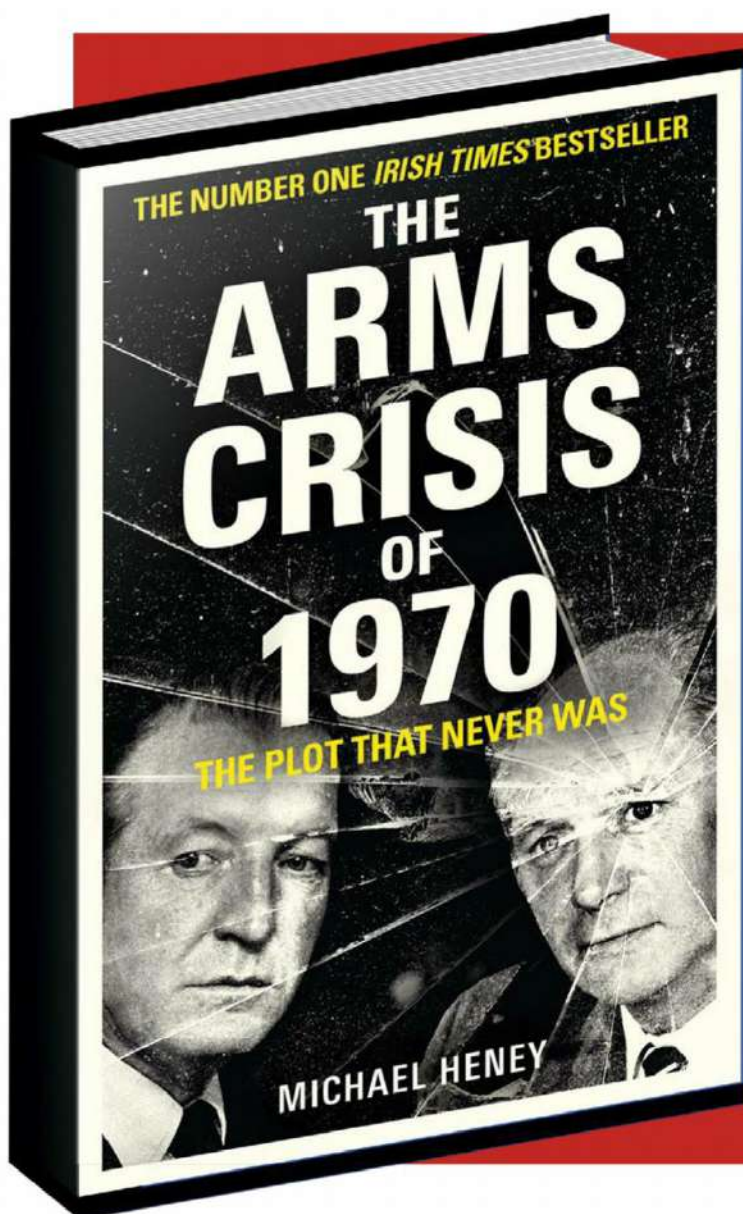
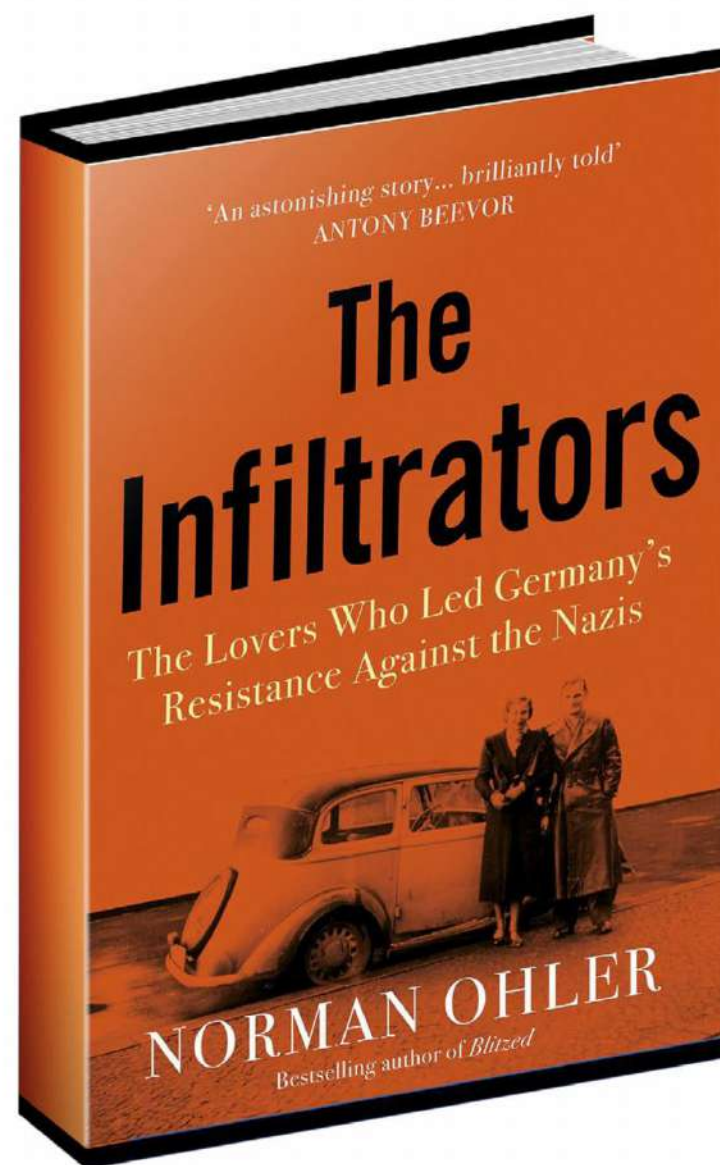
Norman Ohler's latest book follows the story of Harro Schulze-Boysen and Libertas Haas-Heye, who led a network of antifascists in the heart of Berlin during WWII, feeding intelligence to the Allies. *The Infiltrators* paints a picture of a marriage of intellectual equals who are driven by a single shared cause: to bring down the Nazis from within. In telling this story the book draws on diaries, letters and Gestapo files, many of which are previously unpublished, bringing much greater detail to an otherwise known but under-reported story.

And while this isn't a tale that concentrates on the big names of the Nazi era, they appear with regularity nonetheless. For instance it's interesting to note that the couple used family connections to Hermann Göring to get Schulze-Boysen into the Reich air ministry, giving him access to

confidential information from across the military in multiple cities. The biggest example of this was the plans for what would become Operation Barbarossa that appear on his desk in January 1941.

Thanks to the personal papers we get a very intimate sense of who Schulze-Boysen and Haas-Heye were and that even though they were risking their lives, they showed a stoicism and determination throughout that is admirable.

Ohler's driving and immediate prose can sometimes feel that it's sacrificing precise language for entertainment and drama, but his writing style does make for an easy and engaging read. Some background knowledge of wider events will be helpful, but the gripping story alone offers the reader plenty. **JG**



THE ARMS CRISIS OF 1970: THE PLOT THAT NEVER WAS

An in-depth reassessment of Ireland's 1970 arms trial

Author Michael Heney **Publisher** Head of Zeus **Price** £16.99 **Released** Out now

The Irish arms crisis of 1970 is an event steeped in its own folklore and mythology, with Taoiseach Jack Lynch as its hero and Minister for Finance Charles Haughey and Minister for Agriculture Neil Blaney its villains. The traditional narrative tells how Lynch, an honest and gentle leader, acted quickly to stop a plot to smuggle weapons to arm the Northern Ireland republicans. Had such an event occurred, the results could have been violent and bloody, with Haughey and Blaney ready to seize control from a leader they despised.

Here, Michael Heney challenges this view with an account that uses new research to uncover a far more complex and surprising narrative than previously established. The term 'forensic' is often used when describing Heney's work and that's certainly the case here. Heney brilliantly

reassess events, compiling evidence surrounding the trial and presenting it to the reader in a way that provides an entirely new look at this controversial moment.

That's not to suggest, however, that this is some vast and heavy tome, decipherable only by those steeped fully in the story of the trial - far from it. In fact, Heney outlines his key players and events in the introduction in a way that is entirely accessible to newcomers. The breakdown of the chapters is likewise simple and easy to follow and there's even a section of photographs so readers can put faces to names. On the whole *The Arms Crisis Of 1970* is a new look at a controversial trial that should interest both experts and new readers alike. **CM**





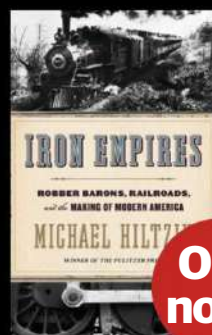
War In The Pacific

Some of the most brutal fighting of World War II took place in the Pacific theatre as combined Allied forces looked to tackle Imperial Japan. With battles taking place by land, sea and air, the War in the Pacific was a microcosm of all of the conflicts taking place around the globe. This excellent book breaks down the key battles, profiles the important figures and explores the tech.

Buy War In The Pacific in shops or online at MagazinesDirect.com
Price: £15.99

Out now!

HISTORY WAR RECOMMENDS...



Iron Empires

Author Michael Hiltzik
Price £25 **Publisher** Amberley

You don't need to be a railway enthusiast to be captivated by this new book from Pulitzer Prize-winning author Michael Hiltzik – the story of America's railroads is about far more than locomotives. It is as much about the people who worked on these immense projects, the communities shaped and destroyed by the twin rails snaking over the continent, and the men who controlled and directed the entire enterprise – the infamous 'robber barons'.

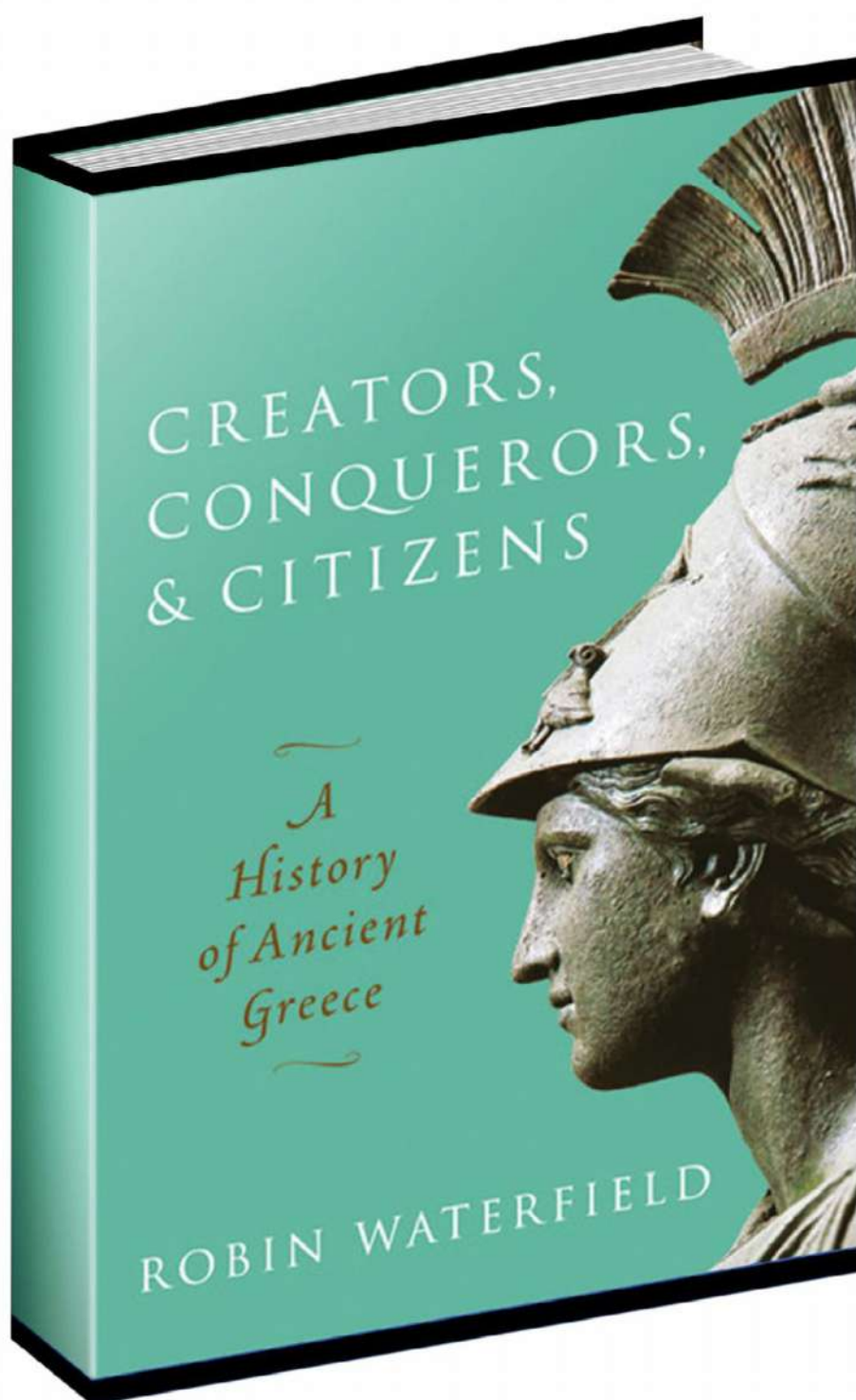
Out now!

CREATORS, CONQUERORS, & CITIZENS: A HISTORY OF ANCIENT GREECE



A comprehensive and readable account of a tumultuous saga

Author Robin Waterfield **Publisher** Oxford University Press **Price** £14.99 **Released** Out now



Creators, Conquerors, & Citizens: *A History Of Ancient Greece*, offers a new look at an already crowded field. That it manages to remain fresh and readable while doing so is no small feat in itself. Robin Waterfield has set himself the monumental task of covering over seven centuries of the history of Ancient Greece, from small city states to a mighty empire and the catastrophic conquest by Rome. He does so with aplomb, examining along the way what it meant to be Greek in such a sprawling and culturally diverse empire.

Opening with an invaluable and comprehensive timeline, Waterfield is a more-than-able guide through the often violent and always fascinating history of the Greek Empire. In his hands names that will be instantly familiar to readers spring to life on the page, illuminating what can at times be a dense history.

The book is divided into three sections, beginning with the Archaic Period and the early history of the empire, before taking in the Classical Period from the Delian League to the emergence of Alexander the Great, and concluding with the Hellenistic Period and the final conquest by Rome. For a book that aims to provide an introduction to such a complex time, this is a masterstroke. Those unfamiliar with the history of Greece will find the book easy to navigate, and the comprehensive chapters are both accessible and scholarly.

Waterfield's text is illustrated with maps and images, along with a useful glossary and comprehensive lists of recommended further reading.

His use of varied and broad sources is particularly effective, further broadening an already comprehensive work. There are, of course, moments at which he and other historians have been forced to fill in the blanks with guesswork, but such incidences are clearly pointed out in the text. When Waterfield has been forced by scant evidence to make an educated and well-reasoned inference, he is clear on why and how he reached his conclusions. The text is stuffed with well-known names, but it's in the citizens of the title that *Creators, Conquerors, & Citizens* really comes into its own. Waterfield's examination of the ordinary people of the vast Greek empire is fascinating, providing the perfect balance to the tales of their near-legendary rulers.

Creators, Conquerors, & Citizens: A History Of Ancient Greece is not for a dyed-in-the-wool scholar of the ancient world. Instead, it's a highly readable and stimulating introduction to a fascinating and sometimes intimidating area of history. Waterfield's accessible but still authoritative tone brings the sights, sounds and citizens vividly to life. This evocative book manages to tread an often fine line between storytelling and scholarly history with a lightness of touch that belies the depth and scope of its approach. There is much to enjoy here and this engaging one-volume history will appeal to a great many readers, regardless of how much they already know about the history of Ancient Greece. **CC**



"Waterfield's examination of the ordinary people of the Greek Empire is fascinating"

HISTORY HOLLYWOOD

Fact versus fiction on the silver screen

RADIOACTIVE

Director: Marjane Satrapi **Starring:** Rosamund Pike, Sam Riley, Anya Taylor-Joy **Country:** France **Released:** 2020

An abridged biopic that trims very little from history



VERDICT: This film attempts to squeeze in a lot, but rarely veers from the broad truths

01 A stereotypically romantic movie moment shows Marie bumping into future husband Pierre Curie in the street and starting up a conversation. They were actually introduced by Polish professor Józef Wierusz-Kowalski, who thought Pierre could offer her lab space.



02 The relationship between Marie and Pierre seems to be quite accurately done. They loved bike rides, as depicted, and she did wear a navy dress to her wedding, possibly as she intended to go to the lab after. She always wore dark clothing as the work was messy.



03 There are several sequences involving spiritualism and Pierre's interest in seances. If anything, *Radioactive* seems to downplay these elements. Marie was sceptical, but still the couple helped a medium, Eusapia Palladino, to use X-rays in her performances.



04 Marie was known to keep vials of radium on her person and desk all the time, so having her show them off regularly seems accurate. It's unclear if she ever took a vial to have by her bed as in the movie, but it does reflect how obsessed she was by radioactivity.



05 Marie's daughter Irène convinces her to deploy mobile X-ray units during WWI. Marie even offers her Nobel medals to help pay for them. She did offer her medals, but at the start of the war. Marie did indeed personally attend to the wounded with Irène.



Main image: © Alamy
5x inset image source: Amazon Prime Video

KADHAI GOSHT

Ingredients

- 1kg lamb meat on the bone, cut into pieces
- 6 medium tomatoes, thinly sliced
- 3 onions, finely diced
- 1 green chilli, slit lengthwise
- 4 tbsp vegetable oil
- 2 tbsp Greek yoghurt
- ½ tbsp garlic paste
- ½ tbsp ginger paste
- 1 tsp garam masala
- 1 tsp Kashmiri chilli powder (or paprika)
- 1 tsp cumin powder
- 1 tsp coriander powder
- ½ tsp turmeric powder
- ½ tsp black pepper
- Salt (to taste)

**DELICIOUS SLOW-COOKED LAMB CURRY,
MUGHAL EMPIRE, 16TH – 19TH CENTURY**

Did you know?

Emperor Akbar had more than 400 cooks from all over India and Persia in his royal kitchen

Mughali cuisine developed from a fusion of Indian, Turkish, Afghan and Persian food. It's characterised by rich, creamy dishes filled with aromatic spices, many of which are still around today, such as chicken tikka, rogan josh and biryani. While roasted meats were extremely popular, beef and pork were not usually consumed because both Hindus and Muslims lived in the empire – in fact, Emperor Aurangzeb was known to prefer vegetarian dishes. The term 'kadhai' refers to a deep circular cooking pot that originated in the Indian subcontinent and 'gosht' means tender, slow-cooked meat, usually goat, lamb or mutton. In India and around the world, kadhai gosht remains a traditional and popular dish that can be enjoyed by the whole family.

METHOD

- 01** Grab a large bowl and add the lamb, garlic and ginger pastes. Mix together and once the lamb is well covered, leave it to sit in the fridge for an hour or, if possible, overnight.
- 02** Heat the oil in a kadhai (or a large, deep saucepan) on a medium heat. Add the lamb to the pan and fry for five to seven minutes, stirring frequently until the lamb is browned. Remove the lamb, place it in a bowl and keep covered.
- 03** Next, add the onions to the pan and fry them until they're golden, then add the tomatoes. Cook for a few minutes and once the tomatoes have softened add the salt, pepper and ground spices (apart from the garam masala) and stir this together well.
- 04** Lower the heat and allow the mixture to simmer and thicken for about 10 minutes. Next, add the yoghurt to the pan and mix until it is fully incorporated, before adding the lamb back in and stirring well. If the curry looks too thick add water to stop it from burning at the bottom.
- 05** Put the lid on the pan and leave the lamb to simmer until it's tender, stirring occasionally – this will take between 60 to 90 minutes. Once the meat is cooked, stir in the garam masala and green chilli and turn off the heat.
- 06** Leave the kadhai gosht to sit, covered, for a few minutes before topping it with ginger and coriander for garnish. Serve with rice, naan bread or roti.

NEXT MONTH MALCOLM X & MARTIN LUTHER KING **ON SALE 8 OCT**





1:72

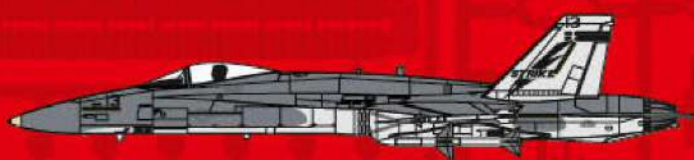
McDONNELL DOUGLAS™ F/A-18A HORNET™



A55313

McDONNELL DOUGLAS™ F-18A HORNET™

As the US Air Force upgraded their fighter capability with the introduction of the F-15 Eagle and F-16 Fighting Falcon, the US Navy and Marine Corps were looking for a new aircraft to fulfil the dual roles of fleet defender and strike platform. The resultant aircraft was another American jet classic, the McDonnell Douglas F-18 Hornet, a distinctive looking twin engined fighter which provided naval units with a significant capability upgrade. Required to operate in the demanding environment of aircraft carriers at sea, the Hornet is an extremely tough aeroplane and has proved to be effective in the roles for which it was originally intended and flexible enough to take on additional duties. Also proving itself effective and reliable in combat, the Hornet is perhaps best known as the aircraft operated by the US Navy Flight Demonstration Squadron, the 'Blue Angels', with the team flying the F-18 since November 1986. The team are regarded as one of the premier aerobatic display teams in the world and their thrilling displays of precision flying are the highlight of any Airshow in which they perform.



Length 237mm Width 172mm Pieces 94



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